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PAPERS
OF THE
PEABODY MUSEUM OF AMERICAN ARCHAEOLOGY
AND ETHNOLOGY, HARVARD UNIVERSITY
VOL. XXXII—NO. 1

THE COWRIE SHELL MIAO
OF KWEICHOW

BY
MARGARET PORTIA MICKEY

CAMBRIDGE, MASSACHUSETTS, U.S.A.
PUBLISHED BY THE MUSEUM
1947

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THE COWRIE SHELL MIAO
OF KWEICHOW







FIG. 1. Map of Kweichow.

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PREFACE

NOT all of the native inhabitants of China are Chinese. China, like other countries, has her minorities. Some of them are border folk, marginal members of ethnic groups which have their main centers of population elsewhere, such as the Mongols, the Tatars, the Lo-lo, and other Tibetan frontier people, and the Thai. Others are just as Chinese as the Chinese themselves in geography and in length of tenure. These are peoples who speak non-Chinese languages, live in separate villages, and whose customs differ perceptibly from those of the Chinese in the surrounding countryside. They are the survivors from the earlier periods of Chinese history, when the Chinese proper were only one of many peoples in what we now call China, destined to spread out from valley to valley, and along the coast, absorbing their neighbors and painting all with their linguistic and cultural brush.

Several millions of these other peoples still live in the southern provinces of China. They are the Tai, the Lo-lo, and the Miao. Like the Chinese peasants of southern China, all of these people are Iron-Age agriculturalists, growing rice and other grains, keeping a few pigs and cattle, living in villages of a few hundred persons, and trading their surplus agricultural products and handicraft products in the market towns for cutting tools and other manufactured objects. The general economic adjustment to the environment is the same for all of these peoples. The differences consist chiefly of language and minor social usages. A difference of another order, however, sharply divides the dominant from the minor peoples—the *hsien*¹ towns and the provincial cities are all chiefly inhabited and run by Chinese. Thus the Miao, Lo-lo, and Tai have no class of artisans and traders, no urban populations; they are practically all peasants. Being dependent on the Chinese for their manufactured products, their material culture shows few visible differences from the Chinese. A western traveler might easily

go through one of their villages while the women were away in the fields without knowing that he had seen non-Chinese people, for their faces look no different, and the costumes of the men are the same, while the houses, though perhaps poorer, do not deviate from ordinary rural Chinese architectural standards except for the layout of the village. Unless he were a very persistent and hardy traveler, however, the chances that he would reach such a village are remote, for these people inhabit refuge areas, and their homes are tucked away in the higher valleys and on the less fertile mountain slopes. Along the larger rivers, the main highroads of China, the traveler would see only Chinese.

The one province of China which is least fertile, least productive, and least influenced by the far-reaching arm of Western culture is Kweichow. It is not surprising, therefore, that Kweichow contains a larger proportion of non-Chinese "aborigines" than the other provinces of southern China. With more aborigines and fewer Chinese, and with less immediate Chinese influence than elsewhere, Kweichow is the ideal place in which to study the non-Chinese—in this case the Miao. That is why, in 1940, Miss Portia Mickey went there.

Before she undertook to study the daily life of a Miao village, Miss Mickey had had some ten years of experience in China, during which time she acquired a knowledge of Chinese. Aside from her linguistic qualification, she is a natural field ethnographer. Quiet and unobtrusive, she masks with her mild personality keen powers of observation, discrimination, and persistence. To go alone into the most backward part of the most backward province of China in war time, to live there under local conditions of nutrition and sanitation, and at the same time to keep detailed records of everything that went on, was a feat of no little courage and endurance for a small woman no longer young, on her first anthropological expedition.

¹ A *hsien* is a district—a subdivision of a province,

roughly comparable to our county.

Thanks to her, we are able to publish the first detailed, factual account of a Miao community. There are hundreds of such villages of Miao, each with a different name, usually describing some peculiarity of dress. The Miao have no overt intervillage organization. Each village is a separate unit, subject to the local Chinese governmental authority, just as are Chinese villages. If the Miao were ever a nation, that time is so far behind them that no trace of a larger organization remains. In order to study the Miao one must do it village by village. This account of the Cowrie Shell Miao is therefore but a beginning.

It is enough, however, to clear up much of the mystery about the relationship between aboriginal culture and that of the South Chinese. In her particular village Miss Mickey has shown that the two are much the same in many respects, and this is probably true in general. Whether the Miao have be-

come sinified, the Chinese influenced by the aborigines, the two derived from similar cultural beginnings, etc., are historical problems which this paper does not attempt to solve. Miss Mickey has given us a living picture of the personnel of a Miao village, their daily tasks and yearly cycle of activities, their relations with each other and with the world outside. This picture should be useful not only to students of anthropology already familiar with the Chinese village studies of Fei and Yang, but also to people of other professions who wish to understand China; not the China of the Shanghai Bund, wartime Chungking, and the mission stations, but the China of the provinces, of the unpaved paths and of the villages, of the so-called aborigines as well as of the so-called Chinese. Her work will help them understand China as a whole.

Cambridge, Mass.

CARLETON S. COON

December, 1946

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THE COWRIE SHELL MIAO
OF KWEICHOW



INTRODUCTION

THE PROVINCE OF KWEICHOW¹

KWEICHOW is a part of the Southwestern Tableland which, as a spur of the great Tibetan plateau, slopes to the south and east away from Tibet (fig. 1, frontispiece). It is bounded on the north by Szechuan, on the east by Hunan, on the south by Kwangsi, and on the west by Yunnan. The structural trend in Kweichow is east and west, with drainage to the south into the West River and to the north and east into the Yangtze River. The province slopes from a height of over 6000 feet in the west to less than 2000 feet in the east. Some valleys lie as high as 4000 feet, and mountain summits reach 9000. S. R. Clarke estimated that most of Kweichow is at least 3000 feet above sea level, the altitude constantly decreasing as one goes east. Wei-ning Lake, in the western part of the province is, he says, 7000 feet above sea level. The altitude of Kweiyang, the capital, is given by G. B. Cressey as 3468.56 feet. There are certainly high mountains in the western part of the province. The traveler going by motor road from Kunning to Kweiyang repeatedly has the feeling of being "on top of the world."

Three mountain ranges cross the province in a general east to west direction, the highest being the Wuling Mountains which form a watershed between the Wu and Yuan rivers. There is an old Chinese saying to the effect that seven-tenths of the province is mountains. It has been characterized as a labyrinth of hills and valleys, an ocean of little hills as seen from many a high hill. These little hills are of every conceivable shape, pyramid and sugar loaf types being very common. Some of the larger valleys are dotted with them; they range the length of others. In parts of the province these hills are bare and barren; in other parts they furnish timber for one of the main industries of the

province. The valleys are usually narrow and the "plains" seldom large. There are high plains scattered through the mountains, separated from one another by gaps in the hills, or by passes over them. Some of the slopes are terraced, thus increasing the area of cultivable land. The only level valley of any size is that of the Nanning River, in which the capital, Kweiyang, is situated.

There are several rivers in the province, but they become navigable only as they are about to leave the province. The Wu River, which flows through the center of the province, a tributary of the Yangtze, is navigable from Sze-nan; at this point rafts of logs are launched. The Chang-ki, a branch of the Yuan, which flows into Tung-t'ing Lake, Hunan, is navigable at Sze-chow. It joins the main stream at Chen-yuan in the eastern part of the province. San-kioh is at the head of navigation on the Liu. Thus only in the extreme east and southeast of the province is there any river traffic. The fall of rivers is usually steep and there are many stretches of rapids. Springs and streams water the mountain valleys and cascade to lower levels by many a lovely waterfall. In some places streams, only fordable in certain parts, disappear into the earth and come out again a considerable distance away.

When S. R. Clarke wrote of the province there were no roads over which a wheeled vehicle could be drawn or driven. Everything had to be carried by coolies or on the backs of ponies and mules. Four narrow old roads leading to the several provinces by which Kweichow is bounded all met at the capital, Kweiyang. The typical highways were narrow trails, paved with cobble stones or slabs of rock (fig. 14, *a, b, d*). Gradually roads were built following these main routes. The position of the province as a link be-

¹Material for this section has been drawn from the following sources: Cressey, 1934; Hawkins, 1915;

"China Provincial Atlas and Geography," 1935; Clarke, 1911.

tween strategic points in "free China" led to the construction of motor roads through Kweiyang from Kunming in Yünnan to Chungking in Szechuan and from Kweiyang east to cities in Hunan and Kwangsi, following the old imperial highway from Peking. Others lead from Kweiyang south to Ting-fan and from the Kweiyang-Chungking road into the northwestern part of the province. A railway in process of construction from Kiangsi to Kweiyang had been brought as far as Tu-yün, but the Japanese in their "farthest west" tore



Fig. 2. Average monthly precipitations over a four-year period at Kweiyang.

up the tracks. Still most of the travel over the province must be by stone roads or mountain paths, suitable only for pack animals and coolies. In the northwest these paths are so steep that the traveler ascends by following his pony and holding onto its tail. Throughout much of Kweichow the motor road is an exhilarating roller coaster, made the more exciting by the habit drivers have of coasting down the hills to save fuel. Brakes must be good.

Kweichow has a monsoon climate, in which the wind blows from the south and southeast in the summer and from the north and northeast in the winter. The parts of the province bordering on Hunan and Kwangsi are considered humid and unhealthy because of the prevalence of malarial fever. The temperatures are related to altitude rather than latitude, ranging from 86 to 14 degrees Fahrenheit. In general the climate is of the Yünnan plateau type, "ameliorated tropical," almost temperate. The annual rainfall is estimated at something over 39.5 inches. Observations (fig. 2) at Kweiyang² on rainfall over a four-year period give the following monthly precipitations in mm.: January, 29.5; February, 22.5; March, 27.5; April, 85.1; May, 165.7;

June, 164.5; July, 247.9; August, 97.6; September, 164.5; October, 113.4; November, 45.1; December, 15.4, a total of 1169 mm., or 46.02 inches. The number of rainy days during the year averaged 168.5. There may be rapid changes of temperature. From October to February a peculiar fog fills the valleys; in some years there may be only twenty-five sunny days during that period. In Kweiyang I have known the sun to show itself through the thinner clouds only twice during January.

Although I had with me no means of keeping a record of variations in temperature and rainfall, references in my notes to the weather throughout the year would indicate that conditions in Ting-shui-pa paralleled quite closely those recorded in Kweiyang over a four-year period. This is to be expected since Ting-shui-pa is approximately thirty miles from Kweiyang as the crow flies, and at almost the same altitude. In Kweiyang the rainiest month of the year was July, with moderate to heavy rainfall April through June, and August through October and the remainder of the year comparatively dry. My notes indicate that July was indeed a very rainy month with "drenching rain" and "a solid week of rain, followed by sun and showers mixed, then more downpours." In March, April, and May there were periods of warm, sunny days broken by thunder showers or a few days of rain, but toward the end of May and during the first part of June there were hard rains, not always during the day, followed by a period when it was cloudy but there was no rain. August and September seem to have been generally fine and hot, but toward the end of September bad weather began, with mist and wind from the northeast. October and November were very wet, rainy or gray, misty days outnumbering the even partly sunny ones, but in November and December there were also some fine, sunny days. January and February continued to be cold and there was often a heavy mist. There was freezing weather early in December. In February there was ice and frost all over the mountains for two days and ice thick enough on the rice fields so that the children cut pieces of it out and carried them about.

² Lat. 26° 18' N., long. 106° 40'.

Kweichow is considered the poorest agricultural province in all China. Much of the soil is poor, and the steep, narrow valleys give but little space for farms, which are therefore usually small and cultivated by simple methods. Cultivation is confined chiefly to upland plains, the few open valleys and terraced hillsides, and is dependent upon conditions of soil, slope, and water. The total area of cultivated and cultivable land is estimated at five per cent. At one time the chief crop was opium, but the Chinese Government has tried to stamp out the growing of the poppy. One geographer lists in order of second importance maize and buckwheat, then tobacco, bamboo, wheat, oats, sugar, rice, fruits, indigo, silk, cotton, hemp, beans, and wild silk. Another gives in order of acreage rice, maize, beans, wheat, barley, and millet. In general, it may be said that rice is grown wherever possible and there forms the staple food. In the poorer mountain districts, where rice cannot be grown, the people depend upon maize, barley, and millet. Nowhere is more than one crop of rice grown and the harvest is in September or October. Winter crops commonly include wheat, pulse and oil seeds such as rape. There is a variety of excellent vegetables grown through the year. Fruits of the province include peaches, pears, apricots, persimmons, oranges, and lemons. There are also large crops of walnuts and chestnuts, including a wild variety. The chief trees are the fir, pine, and oak in the east, the t'ung in the west. In spite of rapid cutting, large reserves are thought to remain in Kweichow. The bamboo trees are of several species, some suitable for construction and the making of articles of common household use and huge rain hats, others having edible sprouts. Tsunyi in the northern part of the province has industries for the making of a kind of cheap silk cloth and waterproof silk cloth, native umbrellas, and cotton goods. The villages of

Sze-nan and San-kioh both are important lumber centers.

Tigers are reported in the northeastern part of the province. There are also said to be wolves, wild boars, white pheasants, and giant salamanders. I have seen wild cats in the hills and rabbits for sale in the market at Kweiyang. There are many domestic animals, including "yellow cows," water buffalo, pigs, sheep, goats, ducks, geese, and chickens. The first two are used as draft animals, for plowing. There are no full-sized horses, but ponies and small mules are used as pack animals.

In mineral wealth Kweichow is considered to have greater possibilities than any other province of China. Coal is common and may be had for merely scratching the surface. The richest mercury mines in the world are in Kweichow. It is the only mineral exported, although from the iron in Wei-ning cooking vessels are manufactured which are sold all over Yunnan, as well as Kweichow. In addition, there are gold, silver, copper, and nitrate of potash in sufficient quantities to warrant mining them.

The province should also be of great interest to botanists. I met in Kweiyang an Austrian who had collected over three hundred species of plants. As I went to market from the mountain village in which I was living to Lung-li I would count the flowering plants I saw. There were never fewer than thirty in blossom, many times more than fifty. At times the hills would be rosy with azaleas, at other times blue with bluebells of several kinds, while during their season more than a hundred white lilies would be in view at certain points. Hedges of wild roses border some of the paths. There are wild fruit trees, berries, and flowering vines. Nearly every flowering plant we grow with much care in our gardens is found wild on the Kweichow mountains.

THE PEOPLES OF KWEICHOW

Historical. Chinese literature has references to the province of Kweichow and its peoples from the days of Shen-nung, when Emperor Yen married the daughter of Ch'ih-shui, from the southern part of the present

province. It is a fascinating story. Native states were conquered and reconquered; clans whose names are still to be found among those known as "Old Chinese" were transported to the province; companies were led in by their

feudal lords; land was given to garrisons and soldier villages which they were to keep "from generation to generation."

The entire tale is too long to tell here, but one small portion may be of interest.^{2a} During the first period of the reign of Han Wu-ti (140-135 B.C.) an envoy was sent to Nan-yüeh, in the region occupied by present-day Kwangsi and Kwangtung. During his visit he was offered a relish of betel pepper from Shu, an ancient state with its capital at Ch'engtu. When he inquired whence this relish came, he was told that it was brought from Tsang-ko in the northwest by a river which has its source in the mountains northwest of Ting-fan-hsien in Kweichow. Upon his return to Ch'ang-an (Si-an) he inquired further concerning this relish and was told that it was a product peculiar to Shu, from which it had been taken in private trade to Yeh-lang, a state in what is now the western part of Kweichow and Kwangsi. It occurred to the envoy that by this trade route a way might be afforded for an army recruited in Yeh-lang to proceed against wealthy Nan-yüeh. Accordingly, he memorialized the throne and the project of constructing a road to this river was started; but the road was never finished because the soldiers engaged upon it suffered too much from weariness, hunger, and the "dampness of the weather," and the expense of keeping native peoples from revolt was too great.

The tradition and folklore of those peoples who have no written language, as well as Chinese historical writings, support the contention of all Kweichow people that their ancestors were immigrants from other provinces. Some came from the region between the lakes of Tung-t'ing in Hunan and Po-ying in Kiangsi, some across the borders from Kwangsi, Yünnan, and Szechuan. Among them were forced or voluntary immigrants who came as families or clans, garrison soldiers without families who married women from non-Chinese groups, and in more recent years farmers, business and professional men, and officials.

Division of Peoples and Their Location. S. R. Clarke³ divides the people of the province

into six groups: First, two groups of Chinese — the Lao Han-jen ("Old Chinese"), who came as garrison soldiers from the ninth to the twelfth century and whose descendants through marriage with non-Chinese women are often taken at first to be tribes people, and the K'e-chia ("Guest people"). Some of the first speak an old Chinese dialect and their women wear most picturesque costumes. The headdress of the women in one group in An-shun Hsien gives them the name of Feng-t'ou jen (Phoenix-headed people). The K'e-chia first came from Kiangsi, not always willingly; later many came from Hunan and Szechuan. Second, the non-Chinese Kei-lao, Miao-chia, Chung-chia, and I-chia. Other western writers generally classify them by languages.

Chinese gazetteers give altogether just one hundred names for these peoples and suggest various methods by which they may be classified. In the notes to his translation of the Miao-Man section of the Ch'ien-nan Chih-fang Chi-lüeh⁴ Dr. Lin Yüeh-hwa places them in seven groups: the Miao proper, the Chung-chia, the Nung-chia, the Ch'i-lao, the Lo-lo, the Yao, and the P'o. The Research Bureau of the Sociology Department of Ta Hsia University in Kweiyang, of which Dr. Wu Tzu-lin was head, classified them as Lo-lo (more politely known as I-pien), Kei-lao, a Tai group, and Miao.

The I-pien are found in the extreme north-western part of the province and are divided into T'u-mu or T'u-ssu, descendants of feudal lords, Hei-I, freemen and landowners, and Pai-I, serfs or slaves. Many of the Hei-I have in recent years taken the title and authority of T'u-ssu, while the latter have been rapidly disappearing. The Kei-lao, whose name is also pronounced Ch'i-lao, are found in fairly large numbers in P'u-ting, An-lung, and Lu-shan hsien. There are two explanations of the name Lo-lo. Some say it comes from the spirit basket (*lo lo*) hung up in the most sacred corner of the house. If this is so, their resentment against the name is understandable as an insult to their religion. The Ch'ien-nan Chih-fang Chi-lüeh⁵ says that at the close of the Sui and the beginning of the T'ang Dynasty the capable leaders among the Man people

^{2a} Cheng Teh-k'un, 1945.

³ Clarke, 1911.

⁴ Lin Yüeh-hwa, 1941.

⁵ Lin Yüeh-hwa, 1941.

were advanced to the status of Kuei-chu. The Lo-tien people east of Kweiyang then called the Kuei-chu of the Lo family by the abbreviated title of Lo-kuei, which was finally corrupted to Lo-lo. This same source gives the origin of the Ch'i-lao or Kei-lao as Szechuan, from whence they were spread over the provinces of Kweichow and Kwangtung. In this source and by themselves the Kei-lao are divided into ten groups with such interesting names as Ch'ing (Blue), Hung (Red), Yeh-t'ou (Head-adorning), Pi-p'ao (long robe), Ch'ien-t'ou (Head-shaving), Ta-ya (Teeth-knocking), Kuo-ch'uan (Potting), and Ta-t'ieh (Iron-working).

The Tai group includes the Chung-chia, Tung-chia, Shui-chia, and T'ung-chia. Of these, the Chung-chia in the central and southern sections of the province and the Tung-chia in the southeastern are most numerous and widely distributed, while the Shui-chia in the four southern hsien of Li-po, Tushan, San-ho, and Tu-chiang and the T'ung-chia in Lo-ch'ang and San-chiang Hsien are few. The origin of the name, Chung-chia, is given in the An-shun Fu-chih as follows: originally the words were written 重甲, meaning "heavy armor," and refer to the heavy infantry of invading armies. There are references to immigrating clans by the name of Tung and T'ung and of garrison soldiers who took the name of their commander, Chung. These people all speak Tai dialects and probably came from Szechuan, the ancestral home of the Tai, or from Kwangsi. The Shui-chia are fairly recent arrivals from Kwangsi.

For the Miao people there are as many as eighty or ninety different names. At Ta Hsia University, following the Ch'ien-nan Chih-fang Chi-lieh,⁶ they are classified as Hua (Flower), Hei (Black), Ch'ing (Blue), Pai (White), and Hung (Red) Miao, according to the predominant color of the tribal dress. Of these the Hua Miao in the west and northwest and the Hei Miao in the southeast are most numerous and widespread, while the Ch'ing Miao and Pai Miao in the central and the Hung Miao in the northeastern parts of the province are much less numerous and

more restricted in distribution. All other names apply to sub-groups.

These often seem to be rather in the nature of nicknames and may suggest the kind of country in which they live — Hei Shan Miao (Black Miao of the mountains), Kao-p'o Miao (Miao of the highlands, Pa' or P'ing-ti Miao (Miao of the level land), Tung Miao (Cave Miao); the name of the region which they live — Ch'e-sai Miao (Miao of the chariot-stockade), Shui-ch'i Miao (Miao of Shui-ch'i, the old name of a district); the color of their clothing — Ya-ch'iao Miao (Magpie Miao, whose garments are dark blue and white); some peculiarity of dress, decoration, or ornament — Ch'ang-ch'un and Tuan-ch'un Hei Miao (Long- and Short-skirted Black Miao), Ta Hua and Hsiao Hua Miao (those who embroider large or small designs on their clothes), Kou-er Nung-chia (Dog-eared farmers), Ma-ch'an Nung-chia (Horse saddleflap farmers), Hsien-ting Miao (Sharp-crowned Miao), Chen-t'ou Miao (Pillow Miao), and Ku-tung Miao (all these names refer to the type of headdress), Hai-p'a Miao (Miao who wear cowrie shells); their means of livelihood — Sa Miao (Miao who sell shrimps); some peculiar custom — Hsi-ku Miao (Miao who disinter and wash the bones of their dead), Nü-kuan Miao (Miao with female rulers); and so on. It is by the dress of the women that one may distinguish between tribes, for most of the men have adopted Chinese costume. Of course they do not use these nicknames in referring to themselves. In fact, they resent the name Miao, which means "sprouts"; that is, the natives, indigenous people, or barbarians.

Altogether it is estimated that fully forty per cent and possibly one-half of the population of the province is non-Chinese.

Cowrie Shells. Cowrie shells have played and still do play various roles in China. From very ancient times they have been used as money. With regard to the character "pei" (貝), Wiegert⁷ quotes a Chinese phrase which may be translated, "an animal from the sea, representation, in ancient times money and precious shell; from the Chou until the Ch'in Dynasty they used cowries in trade." Marco

⁶Lin Yüeh-hwa, 1941.

⁷Wiegert, 1915.

Polo refers to them in this capacity in his description of the journey he took into the southwest of China on behalf of the Great Khan. The I-shu (義疏) says, "Yünnan people call the pei 'hai p'a,' p'a being the shell of the animal."⁸ There are in the Museum at West China Union University at Ch'engtu metal objects made to represent cowries and once used as money. Hai-p'a (Cowrie Shell) Miao girls also wear ornaments of silver in the form of cowrie shells.

Another character, "cheng" (眞), has been interpreted as the fee paid to one who examines the markings on a shell. It might also be thought of as divination by means of cowrie shells. Among the Mo-so of Yünnan cowries are still used for that purpose. A full account of this is given in an article by Dr. T'ao Yün-kuei in the *Anthropological Journal*.⁹ There are in the Ch'engtu Museum a number of the Mo-so divination classics from the collection made by Dr. Joseph Rock.

Still another character, "fen" (賁), suggests for us by its composition of shells and plants a third use to which these shells are put among many peoples of Southwest China, ornamentation. I have seen an apron used by the Ch'uan Miao of southern Szechuan, the

piece worn over the blouse of a Cowrie Shell Miao woman, and the hat of a priest of the Ch'iang, all of which use cowrie shells in this way. Of the Ch'i-t'ou Ch'i-lao women it is written, "On their backs they wear sea-shells strung like pearls," while among the P'i-p'ao Ch'i-lao, "The woman bind their hair with blue thread. They wear blue cloth sashes on which they sew sea-shells."¹⁰

On the priest's hat these shells have further significance. They give him protection and added power. I have also seen these shells on the cap of a small child among the Ch'ing Miao of An-shun Hsien and on a cord around the wrist of a Chinese child, where they were considered a charm against evil. In each of the eye-sockets of the skull of a golden-haired monkey in the center of a Ch'iang priest's sacred bundle, also to be seen in the Ch'engtu Museum, is a cowrie shell.

Cowrie shells, usually alternating with circles, are used as decoration on the red, or painted Neolithic ware found in the Mach'ang, Kansu site. In the Cowrie Shell Miao village in which I lived one of the women gave one of these shells to a Chinese girl who visited me there and who was about to be married.

THE COWRIE SHELL MIAO

Tradition of Origin. According to Miss Li,¹¹ with whom I made my first visit to a Cowrie Shell Miao village, two places were mentioned as the original home of the Cowrie Shell Miao, Kiangsi and the Pearl River, where, one man said, they were known as Hai (Sea) Miao. The head of the family in which I lived insisted that their ancestor was a Chinese (Han-jen) by the name of Lei who migrated voluntarily from Chu-shih-hang in Kiangsi with his wife and settled in Ting-fan Hsien. As the descendants of their sons increased in number they adopted other Chinese surnames and his own family, my informant suggested, might be called Yang Lei Chia (the Yang branch of the Lei family).

Present Distribution. They are now to be found chiefly in the three *hsien* of Lung-li,

Kuei-ting, and Ting-fan, a region of many mountain valleys at an average elevation of three to four thousand feet. A motor highway crosses the first two of these *hsien* from Kweiyang east; a second runs from Kweiyang south to the *hsien* city of Ting-fan. There are some Cowrie Shell Miao in the cities, but most of them live in mountain villages, reached by stone roads or mountain paths suitable for travel on foot, on horseback, or by sedan chair only, and are engaged in agriculture. The center of their distribution is approximately where the three *hsien* come together. There has been no accurate census of this ethnic group. Small settlements of Chinese and villages of Chung-chia and Cowrie Shell Miao are often found in the same valley. In Kuei-ting Hsien I visited

⁸ T'ao Yün-kuei, 1939. ⁹ T'ao Yün-kuei, 1939.

¹⁰ Lin Yüeh-hwa, 1941.

¹¹ See p. 10.

one valley which contained Cowrie Shell Miao only. All these peoples attend the same markets and have some social relations with one another. These relations, however, do not extend to intermarriage in the case of the Cowrie Shell Miao, who marry only among themselves. Since they consider themselves descendants of a single ancestor, the Cowrie Shell Miao reckon all other Cowrie Shell Miao their kin, and one finds among them the same degree of unity as among members of a large family distributed over a considerable territory. Members of different villages come together on such occasions as bullfights and market days. They seek their wives from villages outside their own, because a man must marry a woman of a different family surname, and there is usually but one such name to a village. There are thus intervillage relations at weddings, funerals, and other "invitations to drink wine." The largest finite unit is, therefore, the village, which forms part of a larger and less well-defined continuum. The Cowrie Shell Miao as a whole have no political unity and no special leadership. They are simply an aggregation of people who trace their descent from a single ancestor, follow the same or similar customs, and speak a common language.

Family Names. Miss Li ¹² listed the following surnames: Wang (王 and 任), Pan (潘), Chin (金), T'ang (唐), and Yang (楊). From the records in the office of the *lien pao* ¹³ of Ting-shui-pa and of Teh-hua in Kuei-ting Hsien I added these: I (易), Lo (羅), and Wu (吳). Usually a village is composed of families, who, with perhaps a single exception, have the same surname.

Physical Appearance and Nature. Although both men and women vary in height, they are generally short of stature. The face is often broad, the nose short with wide nostrils and depressed bridge, and the eyes slanting with a pronounced epicanthic fold. However, I have seen some distinctly "Roman" noses and some with an elevated bridge. I have also seen both round and long heads among both sexes, at all ages, and in the same extended family.

I found them friendly and hospitable, but without a sense of relative values. The family with whom I lived would accept no money for the rooms, all the rice I could eat, and all the firewood I needed for heating and cooking. In addition, now and then they brought me vegetables from their own gardens, included me in their feasts, and gave me a bit of something special at other times. But, once I began to knit caps for them and give them medicines, prints of individual snapshots, and a treat for the children upon my return from market, they expected me to continue all those things for themselves and all their relatives, even when the war made communications difficult and prices, accordingly, increasingly high.

They were less conventional than the Chinese, though that does not mean that they lacked social standards. For instance, children were repeatedly rebuked when they went between the fire and those who were sitting around it. At feasts it was considered inhospitable should the host or hostess allow a guest's wine bowl to become empty. No guest ever left the village emptyhanded. Men and women, girls and boys mingled freely, for they considered themselves one large family. There was much goodnatured teasing and repartee. Children, however, often gave way to tantrums and some rather heated arguments took place among adults on occasion. One morning some of the older men of the village were discussing something with the old man of our family. Not only did the talking get loud and sarcastic in tone, but some one of them broke a bowl by throwing it onto the stones of the court outside his room. But on the whole the Miao village was a very pleasant place in which to live.

Language. Dr. Li Fang-kuei ¹⁴ told me that he considers the Miao dialects a distinct language group, belonging to the Sinitic family of languages. They have no written language. My informant, however, declared that the Cowrie Shell Miao speak the ancient Chinese dialect spoken in Kiangsi at the time their ancestor migrated. There are either seven or nine tones — authorities differ as to

¹² See p. 10.

¹³ A Chinese political division. One *pao* is ten families; a *lien pao* is ten *pao*.

¹⁴ At that time acting director of the Section on Philology of the Institute of History and Philology of the Academia Sinica.

this point—including “singing tones” similar to those in the Foochow dialect. The sentence structure differs from modern Chinese. For instance, the adjective always follows the noun. The words are monosyllabic, as in Chinese, but contain sounds not found in modern Chinese, such as one quite similar to the Welsh *ll*. There are, of course, Chinese words for things and ideas brought in through more recent contact with local Chinese.

When a family can afford it one or more boys—rarely a girl—receive some education. This must be obtained in a Chinese school whose curriculum offers little of value to the average Miao farmer. Therefore, few

go beyond the local primary school. In the family in which I lived, for several generations one or more boys have graduated from middle school. There is one now in the *hsien* city of Lung-li, but formerly they had to go to Kweiyang. This family has furnished the teacher of the local school for two generations. Most of the men and many of the women speak Chinese, especially those who go to market a great deal. One of the priests in the village told Miss Li that he had a book of the ritual for “opening the way” written in Chinese, but he never showed it to us. A well-educated Miao often insists that he is Chinese (Han) and those in Kweiyang are sinicized.

TING-SHUI-PA

Periods of Residence. In the fall of 1940, Dr. Wu Tzu-lin, then head of the Sociology Department and the Sociological Research Bureau of Ta Hsia University in Kweiyang, arranged for one of his research assistants, Miss Li Chih-jen, and me to spend a few months among the Cowrie Shell Miao in Lung-li Hsien. On the second of December we went by sedan chair from the *hsien* city of Lung-li to the valley of Ting-shui-pa, six miles to the southeast, a little less than half by motor road and the rest by stone mountain road. From a pass where there was a wooden gateway and a wayside shrine we could look down into the valley, a lovely one, almost like a park. All along the way I had marveled at the many flowers and red berries. Here there were bamboo thickets and a grove of oak with a few palms and conifers. The stone road ran between hedgerows of blossoming shrubs and fruit trees, through which flashed gay, singing birds. Beyond the hedges on the left we could see a large pond, with a little, white shrine and the village of Yang-chia-sai beyond it. My bearers would have taken me through the wood to the village, but Miss Li had gone on ahead to the office of the *lien pao* official, and I had perforce to follow her.

Dr. Wu had received permission from the head of the wealthiest family in the Cowrie Shell Miao village of Yang-chia-sai for us to live in his house. But the *hsien* magistrate sent with us a letter to the *lien pao* official, who had his office in a Chinese family temple four-

tenths of a mile from the village. When the teacher of the school, also housed in the temple, a nephew of this village man, saw the letter he protested that his home was not suitable. As a result, we lived in the *lien pao* office until just before the Chinese lunar New Year, which was on January 27, but spent much time in the Miao village. We then returned to Kweiyang. I returned alone after a few days. This time I lived for two months in the “new house” (fig. 13, *e*) of this well-to-do family.

At Dr. Wu's suggestion, I came to the village again on February 1, 1942, and lived in the same rooms as before until December 3 of that year, when I moved into the city of Lung-li in order to be more free to work up the material I had gathered in this more than a year of observation. I had seen the calendar of activities; although there were many gaps in information, particularly as to vocabulary, songs, tunes, and ritual, there was enough for an initial study; I needed the change in order to get away from demands for gifts of such things as personal clothing and bedding and help in lawsuits involving even remote relations of the family, as well as of neighboring Chung-chia and Chinese that I do as much for them as I had for the people of the village. Finally, I felt that I had presumed upon their hospitality long enough. They were appreciative of the help I had been able to give them, however, and repeatedly invited me to return.

General Description. Ting-shui-pa (see fig. 4) is a plateau divide about two miles long and half as wide, with mountains and hills surrounding it. Miss Li said that they told her they called the mountains to the north Cat and Phoenix Mountains, those to the west Elephant and Running Horse mountains, those to the south the Mountain of the Nobleman,

right, brought one to a cluster of seven Chinese houses about the Huang family temple. Four-tenths of a mile beyond was a Chung-chia village. In the other part of the valley were smaller villages of Cowrie Shell Miao and Chung-chia and the home of the large, extended family of Chinese of whom the *lien pao* official was a member.

The rest of the valley, except for one deep cleft, was made up of knolls and depressions and given over to fields in which rice was the chief fall crop, with tobacco, chillies, beans, maize, and millet playing a minor role, and wheat, broad beans, peas, and rape were the spring ones. Vegetable gardens, in which were grown a continuous succession of vegetables, occupied the lower slopes of the nearest hills. There were bamboo and nut trees in the wood and edible bamboo in the thickets about the village. A little stream ran through that part of the valley in which Yang-chia-sai lay and through the cleft mentioned above reached the end of the valley toward Lung-li, where it became a waterfall. A second stream watered the other part of the valley and flowed toward the south. From the springs and streams water was carried for household use. The presence of these sources of water and the pond gave the valley its name of Ting-shue-pa, meaning "divide where water is assured." The bamboo thickets and the wood furnished timber and faggots, both timber and bamboo being used for the construction of buildings and many articles of household and farm use. The mountains were a source of fuel in the form of faggots, grass, weeds, and fern. From them the women brought grass for raincoats and food for cattle at certain seasons of the year. At others the children took ponies, cattle, and water buffalo to the mountains for grazing. All those in the vicinity—Miao, Chung-chia, and Chinese—made use of springs and mountains, but the various groups kept fairly separate.

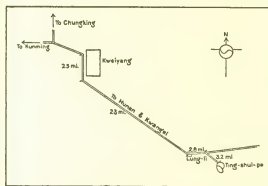


FIG. 3. Ting-shui-pa in relation to Kweiyang.

and those to the east the Mountain of the Pig's Mouth. Our first glimpse of the valley was from the wayside shrine at the top of a pass reached by a gradual, winding ascent from the motor road. About a mile from the pass the road led between high hedges which screened the village vegetable gardens and the large pond from the road. Beyond the pond lay the Cowrie Shell Miao village of Yang-chia-sai (Yang family stockade). The stone road went on. At the further edge of a wood it divided, one fork going straight on into the other part of the valley separated from this one by low hills and beyond to the south. The other ran between the other side of the wood on its left and a group of grave mounds on its right. These grave mounds and bamboo thickets separated the road from a meadow where buffalo bullfights were held. Yet a little way beyond the village another turn, to the

THE VILLAGE OF YANG-CHIA-SAI

Location and Layout. Miss Li told me that the village was said to be "in the Dragon's Mouth." The large pond was to the west of the village. On the south were the wood, bamboo thickets, and the buffalo bull-fighting meadow (fig. 17, *a*). There were more bamboo thickets on the east. To the north was a rise of ground with rice fields between. Beyond the fields and thickets were fields and highways. They said that the fact that most of the houses of the village faced west was "good *feng shui*."¹ It was also good common sense, for the winds which brought inclement weather came from the northeast. One could enter the village by stone paths bordering the pond, through the wood, by a winding stone path from the south which continued through the village, dividing it into two parts known as Shang-sai and Hsia-sai, by a stone path from the east, or at various points between the houses on the north. Shang-sai and Hsia-sai mean Upper Stockade and Lower Stockade. The general impression was of a village open to the pond on the west and protected on other sides by trees, bamboo thickets, and higher land, with fields beyond.

I append a sketch map of the valley (fig. 4), and one of the village (fig. 5). In the village there were some sixty-odd buildings, of which but three were used for residence only. Thirty-three were divided into living rooms and stable or pig-sty, two into stable and kitchen. There were fourteen separate stables or pig-sties and nine granaries. There were also three shrines to the local deity — T'u Ti Miao — one beside the entrance to the village on the west, one where the stone path left the highway on the south (this was the chief one), and one where it left the village on the north. The "old house" of the chief family of the village was the only one which had a court with a gateway into it. This "heavenly well" was surrounded by (1) a small building of which the gateway was part and

which housed the wooden grain-cleaning machine, with the sleeping room of the grown daughter above, (2) the five-*chien* building containing living rooms and a stable for cows, (3) a pig-sty, and (4) a five-*chien* building containing kitchen and stables for water buffalo and ponies. A granary stood to the north of this with the cesspool beyond.

This map is of March 1, 1941. In the three years following changes were made. House 6 and granary west of House 24 were demolished. A part of House 8 was taken off and with the material the widow and her daughter put up a tiny building to the north of the court, consisting of one room roofed with planks set on somewhat haphazard and a still smaller one roofed with tile. The porch west of House 16 had a shack added to it and the family in House 14 kept a cow in it. The pig pen before House 31 was removed. The framework of a building to be erected south of House 7 blew down in a gale and was never set up again. The whole of House 3 was made into a stable, and the stable which had faced it was turned to face west and used as a house. Two new houses, one with mud walls and thatch roof, one with interwoven straw walls and thatch roof, were built beyond the extreme southeast of the village.

The space between houses and other buildings was occupied by house foundations used as threshing floors (fig. 13 *b-e*), stone courts, gardens, and stone paths, of which two followed a winding way from the pond to a stone highway east of the village and one was that which divided the village into two parts, Shang-sai and Hsia-sai.

Population. January 21, 1941, there were one hundred eighty-seven persons in the village. The total population did not vary much during the three years following, but there was a continual shifting due to births and deaths and moving back and forth between villages. When I returned to the village in February, 1942, the family in House 16 had

¹ *Feng shui* (literally, "wind" and "water"). The geomantic system of the Chinese, by means of which favorable sites are determined for graves, houses,

and other buildings. These sites are said to have an influence on the people.

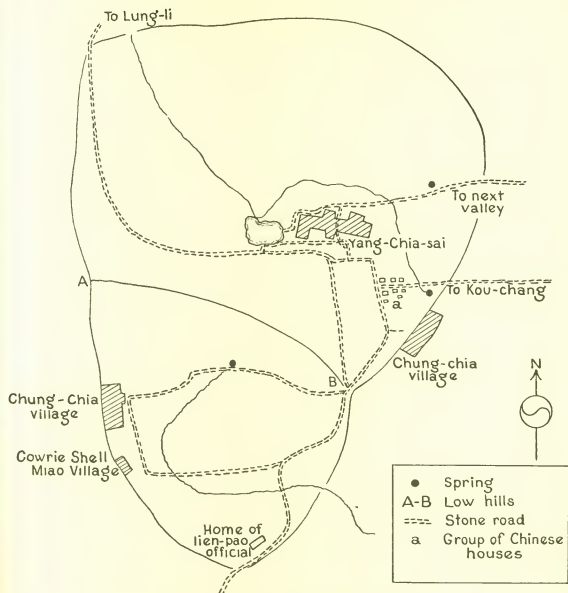


FIG. 4. Sketch map of the valley of Ting-shui-pa.

moved to some place in Ting-fan Hsien, but during the year the son and his wife (their baby daughter had died) returned and lived for a time with his older brother in House 17. They then moved back into House 16. Later another brother came to live with the brother in House 17, bringing his wife with him. The son of the young man in House 15 had died of dysentery during the summer and the second son died of the same disease during the

summer I was there. The young man later took a second wife. The old ladies in Houses 1 and 12 both died of old age, the old man in House 15 of heart disease, and a man of fifty-odd in House 31 of injuries due to the kick of a cow. A baby boy in House 8 died of malnutrition. At least thirteen children were born during this period, including two that died. The daughter of the widow in House 8 went to live permanently with her husband.

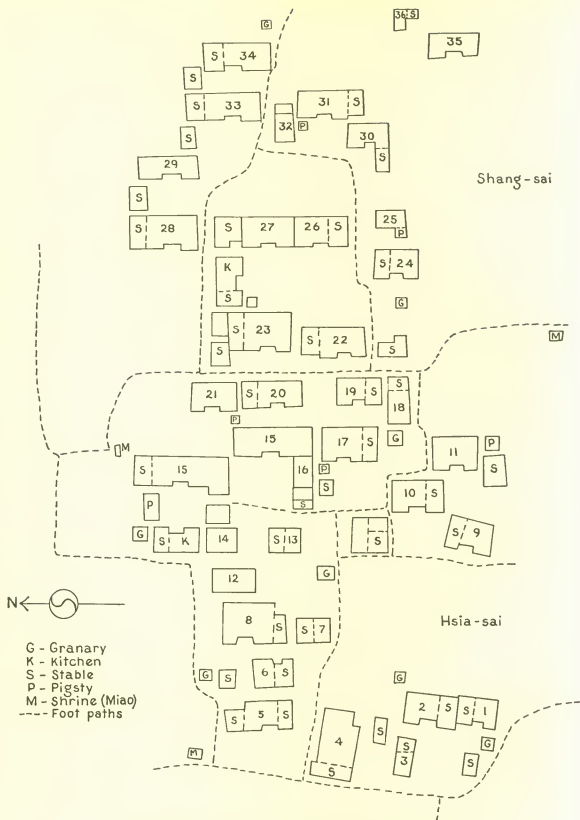


FIG. 5. Sketch map of the village of Yang-chia-sai (as of March 1, 1941).

POPULATION BY HOUSES AS OF FEBRUARY 1, 1941

House Number

Occupants, with ages

1	Grandmother (82); grandson (33), his wife (28), boy (1), girl (6); second grandson (30)
2	Widow (57), sons (20, 18, 13) daughters (15, 7)
3	Woman with absent husband (31), son (4)
4	Grandfather (64); married son (33), wife (38), son (1), daughters (3, 2)
5	Grandfather (72); married son (45), wife (47), daughter (6)
6	Man (28), wife (28), daughter (1)
7	Grandmother (55); son (30), wife (30), son (1); son (17)
8	Man (48), wife (47), daughters (20, 6) Widow (49), son (9), daughter (17)
9	Grandfather (64), wife (65); married son (33), wife (37), son (12), daughters (15, 3, 2)
10	Widower (43), sons (12, 4) daughter (9)
11	Grandmother (66); married son (33), wife (33), sons (11, 1) daughter (8); second son (29)
12	Grandmother (75); son (58), wife (43), daughter (19)
13	Grandfather (65); son (35), wife (36), son (3)
14	Widow (52), son (20)
15	Grandfather (68), two wives (70, 45); married son (28), wife (27), son (1); daughters (17, 8) Nephew (41), two wives (40, 38), sons (14, 9, 8, 12, 1) Nephew (33), wife (25), son (3), daughters (10, 6, 1) Nephew (33), wife (34)
16	Grandfather (53), two wives (57, 33); son (33), his wife (32), daughter (1); son (3), daughter (1)
17	Man (37), wife (32), daughter (8)
18	Widow (52), son (25), daughter (18)
19	Man (46), wife (47), sons (14, 7), daughter (11)
20	Man (31), wife (25), daughter (1)
21	Man (49), wife (44), daughters (16, 2)
22	Grandparents (70, 60); son (45), wife (40), sons (3, 1) Man (60), wife (64), son (28), daughter (16)
23	Man (50), wife (48), daughter (16), sons (12, 7, 4)
24	Widow (60)
25	Man (34), wife (35), son (3)
26	Man (34), wife (38), sons (6, 4), daughter (2)
27	Grandparents (60, 59); married son (35), his wife (32), sons (5, 3), daughter (2); son (18), daughter (15)
28	Grandparents (74, 74); married son (43), wife (43), sons (10, 9, 5, 2), daughter (1)
29	Man (56), wife (60)
30	Man (35), wife (34), son (3)
31	Grandparents (56, 59); son (28), wife (25) wife pregnant
32	Man (37), wife (35), son (10), daughters (5, 2)
33	Grandparents (63, 63); married son (25), wife (25), son (4), daughter (6); son (19), daughter (18)
34	Grandmother (60); widowed son (26), daughter (2); son (18)

A younger brother of the widower in House 10, with his wife, son, and daughter, moved into the southern part of the house but later built the new house with mud walls. The part of the house in which they had lived then became a stable, as originally intended. A new family, related to that in House 32, and consisting of a man, his wife and two sons, aged three and one, built the other new house. An elderly woman, a relative, came to live

with the family in House 14 and a family with a baby with the widow in House 24. Before her baby was born the wife of the young man in House 31 joined him. When the young man and his wife in House 16 moved back they brought a boy of twelve with them, but he later returned to his own home. The third nephew in House 15 and his wife moved away, and a boy of sixteen, relative of the old man's first wife, took his place. During

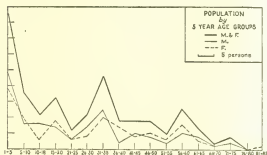
POPULATION BY AGE GROUPS (see fig. 6)

Age	Male	Female	Total
1	6	7	13
2	1	7	8
3	9	3	12
4	5	0	5
5	3 24	2 19	5 43
6	1	6	7
7	2	1	3
8	0	2	2
9	3	0	3
10	2 8	1 10	3 18
11	1	1	2
12	4	0	4
13	1	0	1
14	2	0	2
15	0 8	2 3	2 11
16	0	3	3
17	1	2	3
18	3	2	5
19	1	1	2
20	2 7	1 9	3 16
21	0	0	0
22	0	0	0
23	1	0	1
24	0	0	0
25	2 3	3 3	5 6
26	0	0	0
27	0	1	1
28	4	2	6
29	1	0	1
30	2 7	1 4	3 11
31	1	1	2
32	0	3	3
33	4	2	6
34	2	2	4
35	6 13	2 10	8 23
36	0	1	1
37	2	1	3
38	0	3	3
39	0	0	0
40	0 2	2 7	2 9
41	1	0	1
42	0	0	0
43	1	2	3
44	0	1	1
45	3 5	1 4	4 9

Age	Male	Female	Total
46	1	0	1
47	0	3	3
48	1	1	2
49	1	1	2
50	1 4	0 5	1 9
51	0	0	0
52	0	2	2
53	1	0	1
54	1	0	1
55	0 2	1 3	1 5
56	2	0	2
57	0	2	2
58	1	0	1
59	0	2	2
60	2 5	4 8	6 13
61	0	0	0
62	0	0	0
63	2	1	3
64	1	2	3
65	1 4	0 3	1 7
66	0	1	1
67	0	0	0
68	1	0	1
69	0	0	0
70	0 1	0 1	0 2
71	0	0	0
72	1	0	1
73	0	0	0
74	1	1	2
75	0 2	1 2	1 4
76	0	0	0
77	0	0	0
78	0	0	0
79	0	0	0
80	0 0	0 0	0 0
81	0	0	0
82	0	1	1
83	0	0	0
84	0	0	0
85	0 0	0 1	0 1
95		92	187

the busy season a boy of about the same age from Lung-li came to work there, too, and

FIG. 6. Population by age groups in the village of Yang-chia-sai.



then returned to Lung-li. Daughters-in-law often came to visit and married girls from this village went to their husbands' homes for visits. The T'ang family in House 7, who had been working for the people in House 15, moved away and the family from House 6 moved into the house vacated.

Types of Family and Interrelationship. With the exception of a Chinese family by the name of Liu in House 4, who said that they were the original inhabitants of the village site, a family by the name of T'ang, who lived in House 7, and the boys I have mentioned, all the people of the village had the surname Yang (楊) and were more or less closely interrelated. A father and mother

in House 16. The man in House 26 was son of the man in House 27, as was also the man in House 30. The younger man in House 28 was nephew of the man and wife in House 29. With the old man in House 27 lived one married son. The man in House 32 was son of the old man in House 33, who had another married son living at home. The widow in House 34 was the old man's sister-in-law. The wife of the man in House 31 was a niece of the wife of the man in House 17.

If one considers them by households, they included, first, one of the Chinese extended family type living in one connected group of buildings. This family consisted of a man of seventy, his first wife, aged seventy-two,

TYPES OF FAMILIES

	No. of persons
1 large family with 1 man who has two wives, a married son by the first and two daughters by the second; three nephews with families	24
15 families with parents or widower or widow	
6 with married son, family, other unmarried children	37
6 with married son and his family	39
1 with married son and family, second wife and children	8
1 of widower and children	4
4 of widows with children	14
1 of widow alone	1
15 simple families (man, wife, children)	58
1 man and wife	2
Total	187

might live in one house and a married son and his family remain with them, in addition to any younger brothers and sisters who were not yet married or who had not yet set up their own establishments. Other married sons and their families would be living in adjoining or separate houses. The widow in another house might be the wife of the father's brother. I could not work out this interrelationship completely while I was there, but give the following examples: In House 1 lived a grandmother with her married grandson and an unmarried one. In House 2 lived the widow of her son with her unmarried children. A nephew was with the aviation corps in Kunming and his wife and son lived in House 3. The men in Houses 10, 25, and 35 (brothers) were her nephews. The widowed sister-in-law of the man in House 12 lived in House 14. The man in House 17 was son of the old man

their son and his two wives and two sons, both of whom died, a second wife of the old man, aged forty-seven, her two unmarried daughters, a nephew with his two wives and five sons, a second nephew with a wife and five children, and the third nephew and his wife, succeeded by the two boys.

I came to know this family fairly well, as it was in their "new house" that I lived all my time in the village. The old man was head of the family. He was not well (heart disease) and seldom left his rooms in bad weather. Even on warm, sunny days he rarely left the court. It was usually a sign of something important going on when he came out. He dictated as to relations with the outside world, such as the sale of timber or grain, and his word was law in disputes. His second wife stayed very close and came into the room whenever he was likely to get excited. The

men of the family—his son, the nephews, and their sons—and his own daughters had free access to his rooms. The second wife was the household manager. The others evidently took their orders for the day from her, even the first wife lacking full independence from planning for the family as a whole. This second wife was a good planner, but I thought I detected times when her rule was a bit resented. She seemed, by the force of her personality, to have usurped almost completely the place of the first wife. Her daughters—one married and living in a village twenty miles away called Yang-niu-ts'un (Yang cattle village) and the two at home—were very like her. She was a fascinating woman with much poise, and her daughters were handsomer than most of the Miao women I saw. The oldest one at home, Mo-mei (fig. 19, e), aged nineteen, was very skillful with her needle, at dyeing cloth, and such "clean" tasks, and spent much time washing her own clothes and visiting relatives. She made it a habit to come in for a visit with me before bedtime, which was early, as neither candles nor vegetable oil lamp gave me enough light to see to read or sew. On the days when their stable was cleared and their large field set out with rice plants she helped and rather set the pace, but on successive days she worked on more congenial tasks. The younger girl, ten, had some schooling. The older wife headed the second group of the family at such times as certain feasts in the house—the wives of the nephews, the son's wife, and the younger children, and the two young men. But at the chief feasts of the year she joined the group in the old man's room. She was very bent and probably could not do as much work as when she was younger. She spent much time taking care of the grandsons and in gardening. After the rice harvest she was busy with the sunning of grain. After the old man died she wore the skirt worn by a bride and her attendants doubled across the back instead of the back apron, as the old lady in House 12 had done.

Aside from during the very busiest season of the year, when rice was transplanted, I saw none of the men of the family doing hard work. For a while it seemed as if the son and second nephew did nothing but sleep and

eat. The older nephew was teacher in the *lien pao* school when it was in session. The son acted for the old man in business matters, though subject to his father's decisions. The oldest nephew became head of the family after the old man's death and the second nephew took his old sitting room. I got a Chinese newspaper, which I shared with the teacher and his uncle, a keen old man with remarkably able opinions and quite a bit of knowledge of the world, which he liked to discuss at length.

The son's first wife spoke less Chinese than any of the other women of the family except the old man's first wife, who spoke almost none. They were, therefore, harder to get to know well, but the more I saw of them the better I liked them. Others I found a bit trying because they wanted so much for their immediate family or close relatives, and I am almost certain that the married daughter of the old man or the second nephew's wife took for herself two large sheets of mine. I never learned to share everything I owned as they did within the family group.

The wife of the second nephew made up for him in spunk and energy. She did a great deal for me, often prepared dishes to eat with the rice and would then bring over her own large portion of rice and eat at least half of what she had prepared of the dishes, for which I had furnished the ingredients from market. Once I bought a piece of cloth in market, for which she hinted so strongly that I had to give it to her. She insisted upon doing my washing, brought me firewood and water, but in the end expected a handsome reward. Generally speaking, all of them wanted everything for their immediate family and close relatives. They showed no community spirit in the sense of sharing good things with others who were remotely related to them. Her oldest daughter, twelve, was very like her. In fact, she seemed to be a model Miao girl, pleasant, capable, and able to do only a little less than the older women in both field work and embroidery. The second daughter was made responsible for two baby sisters and seemed to have a very jolly time with them, doing everything for them, after they were past the age when they required their mother much of the time, amusing them and teaching

them songs. The only boy was badly spoiled, but attractive when he willed to be.

The two wives of the oldest nephew were about equal in ability and attractiveness. One had three sons, the oldest of whom was a fine lad in middle school in Lung-li, the others two little imps. Heaven to one of them would have been all the good things to eat in the world in a pile and himself in the middle of it. The second wife had two sons, one who was usually set to watch ponies, cows, or water buffalo as they grazed and an adorable baby who was his father's delight.

These children all liked to try to teach me words and sentences. The boy and his cousin from Yang-niu-ts'un who were in middle school wanted me to help them with their English, which was a required subject, and would have given up school to study with me entirely.

The old man who lived in House 16 also had two wives, one much older than the other. This older one had married sons and grandchildren, while the children of the second were mere babies. It was the old man and his family who moved back to their old home in Ting-fan Hsien and whose two married sons returned to Yang-chia-sai to live. I could not discover why this old man had taken a wife of the age of his sons, for the first wife had several sons and was still very vigorous and capable. The reasons for taking second wives in the other family were various. The old man needed someone more vigorous to serve him and manage the affairs of the household. The oldest nephew married a girl betrothed to a brother who died. The son married a second time when his two sons, the only children by the first wife, had both died.

One household contained a grandmother and two grandsons, one of whom had a family. Thirteen households consisted of one or more elderly persons and a married son with his family. Six of them had other grown sons or a son and daughter at home. In at least two other cases another married son and his family lived in separate houses. There was one case in which the parents were dead; two brothers lived in different parts of the same house in Hsia-sai and the third with his family in Shang-sai until one of the brothers built a house in Shang-sai, leaving the oldest

brother and his family alone in the Hsia-sai house. Fourteen households consisted of a man, his wife, and children; four of a widow or widower with children; one of an old man and his wife; one of a woman whose husband was away, and her small son. One elderly widow lived alone for a time and one single man lived with his brother's family.

Sons were more desired than daughters, but parents were genuinely fond of their girls and appreciated the fact that they were of considerable help while still at home. After they were married they lived at home until pregnant, and after they lived permanently in the husband's home, they still came to visit at the festival of the fifteenth of the first lunar month and other special times. During the slack season women were often invited to villages in which they had relatives to "drink wine." This was sometimes in the village from which they had come, and the opportunity to visit with old friends and relatives was very welcome.

The one Chinese family in the village was comparatively poor, as most Chinese who lived among the Miao were, in spite of the fact that they said they were the original owners of the site. Their children played with the Miao children and there were other social contacts, but on the whole they kept their own customs and were never more than on-lookers at such times as weddings, funerals, and special feasts. Once the woman asked a Miao woman visitor to tell her fortune with a bowl of rice.

An examination of the grave sites belonging to the village indicated that there had been at least five generations, including the youngest one then living, in this place. The family in which I lived had come from Yang-niu-ts'un in Kuei-ting Hsien during the lifetime of the oldest member. One of the graves on the same mound as that where the old lady from House 1 was buried was that of the mother of a man buried in another place to the south of the bullfight meadow. Two others side by side were those of his grandfather and grandmother.

During the time I spent in Yang-chia-sai I made two visits to Yang-niu-ts'un. This was half a day's journey over the mountains to the southeast and in a valley containing five

villages, all of Cowrie Shell Miao, on the slopes, with their fields on other slopes and on the valley floor below. In fact, in the whole *lien pao* of Teh-hua there was just one small group of Chinese of one surname, Ch'u, who lived in the mountains and were iron-workers. There I learned that the family in which I lived in Yang-chia-sai had migrated from this village of Yang-niu-ts'un. A younger brother and his family were living in the old home, a fine house with three walls of large, gray brick, and the widowed sister-in-law in one of the other villages. Of these five villages three contained families by the name of Yang (楊) with single families of other surnames, one was of the Lo (羅) family, and one of the Wang (王) family. They had intermarried, as I found out when an old man in the Lo family village, Lo-ying, died. At that time the tripod was set up in Yang-niu-ts'un before the house in which lived a woman from the Lo family. For this old man they danced for two nights and the funeral lasted four days. I noticed here a difference between the funerals for men and for women; for the women two charges of gunpowder were set off at a time, for the men three.

The valley was a very lovely one with a great many wooded slopes. Well up on one of these was set the village of Yang-niu-ts'un. Some of the fields were also on the mountain sides, but most of them on the floor of the valley below through which flowed a stream, watered by rivulets from the hillsides. The school and *lien pao* office occupied a new building at the gate of the village. There were other new buildings in the village, too, and foundations with beaten floors filled in and used as threshing floors. Local men were doing the carpentering on one, including the making of wooden water casks, troughs, etc. This was in front of the house belonging to the Wang family, evidently a well-to-do one. Their house was of three storeys with kitchen, stables, and pig-sty on the lowest level, entered by a flight of stone steps. Usually one entered the living rooms from the second level, but there was also a ladder from the stable and kitchen. On the new house I

noticed the symbols for *yin* and *yang* and the *pa kua* for heaven and earth over the door.

During the time of my first visit I was invited to stay in the home of a relative of the same generation as the old man's son in Yang-chia-sai. They had two houses, the highest on the slope on which the village was built. The old house was a good one but the new house as good as any I saw in Kweichow, being built all of wood, with balconies on the second storey (fig. 13, f). The central hall and front of the building were lacquered red and black. My room had a wooden floor. They served my meals to me there. The household consisted of an old lady whom I privately nicknamed Cricket because of her liveliness, her son, his wife and three little daughters. The son had been educated in Kweiyang and was a teacher in the *lien pao* school. In his house were also the articles used by a priest. They had a buffalo bull kept in a stable of its own and being made ready for the bullfight. In this family I saw the evening foot-washing, at which guests were invited to use the tub first and then others in turn. I saw it later in a home in Shang-sai where I visited.

I had taken some knitted caps as gifts and wool enough to make one more. Mo-mei gave three of them to her sister's child and three to other relatives she considered most important, so I made the seventh one for one of the children in my host's family. After that was finished I took lessons from Cricket in the making of hemp thread, helped the little girls make necklaces of large snail shells and earrings of fern crosiers, and was invited to several meals in other houses.

When I arrived there were on the steps leading to the veranda of the old house a table with a pair of buffalo bull horns, points down, a millstone with a spray of rose in the hole, two rice bowls upside down, and some pieces of bamboo on it. Resting on the ground and extending over the table to above the eaves were two long bamboo poles, one with the end split to hold a rice bowl and the other with a sort of bird's nest on top. The house in which the sister of the old man in our family had died had bamboo sticks with straw tied to the top at the two doors.

ECONOMIC LIFE

Houses: Construction and Divisions Indicating Use. The framework of houses, like those of Chinese and Chung-chia of this region, was constructed of large, round pillars and squared beams fitted together and secured with wooden pegs. A building was of from one to five *chien*.¹ Under the timbering was a stone foundation up to four feet high, which for living rooms was filled in with pounded clay. The stable was a pit with steps leading down into it. The roofs were of tile laid on fir planks or straw, reed, and grass thatch over bamboo poles lashed to the rafters. The typical plan called for a hall entered from a recessed porch about three feet wide, and one or two *chien* on either side, which were subdivided or left as one large room. No two houses in the village were exactly alike either in the actual arrangement of the rooms or in the uses to which they were put. The very small room back of the hall sometimes contained a loom or a rice-hulling machine, or was used for storage or as a sleeping room. One of the side rooms was used for animals, as a stable and kitchen with no partition, as kitchen and general living room with no partition, or divided by partitions. Any of these side rooms except the stable could have beds in them. In addition to his bedroom, back of which was a general utility room, the head of the family in which I lived had what might be called a private sitting room. During the colder weather there was a bed for him there. Back of each of the other front rooms there was a sleeping room. The loft was also used for that purpose both in the main house and in the building opposite. The "new house" (fig. 13, e) had five *chien*, of which one was divided into two bedrooms for the younger nephew and his family, one into the bedroom and a general room for the son and his first wife, one into the hall and a small room for storage, one into the bedroom and a general room for the son and his second wife, and one into kitchen and storeroom for fuel, lime,

and so on. It was in the rooms for the son and his second wife that I lived before he married her. The front room was then a study and schoolroom.

The houses also varied considerably with regard to the material used for siding. The "old house" and one other had three walls of sundried brick and mud plaster and one of wood; the "new house" had three walls of perfectly matched and fitted large, gray brick and a fourth of wood. Others used any combination of planks vertical or horizontal, with or without the bark, interwoven bamboo strips with or without buffalo dung plaster, pieces of bamboo matting, bundles of straw or bundles of faggots, and the newest house had walls of beaten earth similar to those of the poorer Chinese houses in the vicinity. One house even had a wall of the tile intended for roofing, which will probably be used later for that purpose. The house of my host in Yang-niu-ts'un was, as I have said, of wood throughout. In general they built as good a house as they could afford, following Chinese styles.

Even the poorest house with one room, stable, and thatch roof had a loft for the storage of faggots, straw, unthreshed grain, baskets of grain and miscellaneous articles, sometimes piles of grain and other foods. None of the houses were weathertight, but this was not an unmixed evil, for there had to be some means of escape for most of the smoke from brushwood fires built in pits in the floor. The granaries were about six feet square and built on piles. The floor inside was of beaten earth on planks.

The wood used in construction was pine for the timbers, partitions, and loft flooring, fir and cypress for the roof planks, bamboo for poles across the rafters, interwoven siding, loft flooring and partitions. Tile, straw, grass, and reeds were used for roofing, bundles of straw or faggots for siding.

The better houses had above the door the *yin* and *yang* symbol (fig. 7), and the *pa kua*

¹ The standard section of a Chinese house.

symbols for heaven and earth, ☰ and ☷. One house I saw had a festoon of wooden daggers above the door, also. The first two copy Chinese custom and the third resembles a charm against evil used by the Hua Miao of An-shun Hsien.



FIG. 7. The yin and yang symbol.

According to the season one might see across the front of the houses festoons of tobacco leaves drying, and around them large bundles of faggots or straw (fig. 13, c), later stored in the loft or used as fuel in the kitchen, sheaves of grain or bundles of bean, pea, and other plants pulled up by the roots, carrying poles with baskets on either end, baskets used to transport small pigs to market, various other types of baskets, wood or bamboo poles, newly dyed cloth or clothing drying on branches or bamboo poles from one tripod of poles to another, wooden water casks, water buffalo horns, threshing boxes, spreaders, stones for sharpening knives, piles of straw, tile or brick.

Sanitary Arrangements. The toilets of the village were open cesspools or the woods and thickets. In winter there seemed to be only three or four cesspools in the village, but toward summer little straw or brushwood "tents" around other pits sprang up at several points in or on the edge of the village. Chickens and dogs were scavengers, and dogs were trained from puppyhood to come when called to clean up after a baby or small child. Now and then a well-to-do family followed the Chinese custom of having a pit with planks laid across it in a small room or lean-to. The night soil was used as fertilizer.

Furniture. In general the furniture in the houses in this village did not correspond to that in Chinese houses. In the schoolroom-study and adjoining bedroom there were the Chinese square tables and long benches. Similar ones were found in other houses so that in the whole village there were enough to provide for guests at a fairly large feast. In the study there were also a small organ and a

foreign clock, both broken. The usual seat was a small, rectangular stool about eight inches high, often lacking a leg or two. In some houses I saw a few sections of log, straw hassocks, or low, long benches. Sometimes a long, wide bench stood under the window. Beds were a wooden frame or box on four legs or supported by two sawhorses. In one house thick coffin boards laid on blocks of wood formed a bed. However, not all houses had beds or enough for all the family downstairs, so that some of them slept in the loft. Beds usually had a thick straw mattress, a straw mat, or both. A few had a mat of felt. There were comfortables of the Chinese type—a pad of cotton with a removable cover not quite as large as the pad on one side and large enough on the other to fold over and overlap the first piece, with mitered corners. Others were like a rug with a nap, woven of straw on a vertical loom. Hard, small, bolster-shaped pillows were stuffed with cotton and were for looks only.

Even where there was a built-up stove with cooking bowls fitted into it, much of the cooking was done in smaller bowls on an iron hoop on three legs. On the inner side of the ring were three prongs toward the center to support the bowl. This set over the fire in the floor, which also provided heat. The big stove was used for cooking rice, when a large number were to be cooked for, to make bean curd, to distill wine, or to prepare the mash for animals. Even at feasts men and women often sat around separate floor fires and ate from dishes set on a board across the bowl or from the broth being cooked in it. At times when there were many guests, such as a wedding or funeral, the men usually ate indoors, the women at tables out-of-doors. At the New Year feasts in the house men and women ate together, as well as for the evening meal after the work of the day was done. For the fires there were iron tongs and in the ashes were set earthen pots for tea. Over the fire were suspended a square of interwoven bamboo used as a shelf, a piece of iron with several hooks, and pieces of pork or beef in loops of straw.

Other furniture included wooden cupboards for food or one built on the outside of the house with doors opening into the room, various baskets and jars, trays and bowls (set

on a bench or on top of the cupboard), jars of rice wine, and a bean mill. On the walls hung scythes for cutting wood, carrying poles, carpenter's tools, a wicker basket of chopsticks, skeins and balls of hemp thread, small jars of oil, and sometimes a water pipe. Leaning against the wall were pipes with long bamboo stems, bundles of faggots, and carrying poles with baskets on either end. In a well-to-do home pieces of meat hung from the rafters. Lamps were the ordinary pottery saucer with pith wicks and vegetable or t'ung oil fuel. They were suspended by a wire from the rafters or set on an iron stand. For lighting the way or borrowing fire thin pieces of wood tipped with sulfur, small bundles of straw, or a few strips of bamboo were used. Generally speaking, the objects found in these villages were not for comfort but rather for utility and convenience.

Every home had a shrine to "Heaven, earth, rulers, relatives, and scholars," which was merely the inscription in Chinese characters on red paper pasted up on the wall facing the door, with appropriate sentiments on other strips on either side. In some homes there was also a shelf the full width of the room — the main hall, if there was one — with these inscriptions above and holders for incense, candles and other objects for worship on it. After the old man in the family in which I lived died a square table was set up in one corner of the main room with cloth forming a third side. On the table were the ancestral tablet, figures and cones of mosaic, colored paper with pompoms of frilled paper on top, a support for incense sticks, and small dishes. Along the top and sides of the opening were inscriptions in Chinese. I saw this shrine, also, in two houses in Yang-niu-ts'un, while in a third home the open shelf above a cupboard was used for this purpose. Here the objects were an ancestral tablet, a lamp, a support for incense sticks, and a gong. At dusk, as in Chinese Buddhist homes, they set in new, lighted incense sticks and beat the gong several times.

This main hall was not lived in as much as other rooms of the house, but according to the season the large bamboo mats used on the threshing floor, bamboo baskets for grain, various implements — plows, harrows, grain-

cleaning machines, flails — other baskets and trays were kept there (see fig. 13, *b-e*). During the rice harvest it was often piled full of grain until there had been enough sunny days to get it all sunned and stored or sold. When an adult died, the coffin was always set in this room with the foot toward the door. At the lunar New Year glutinous rice paste was pounded in a stone mortar and the cakes shaped in this room. Of course offerings were made here to ancestral spirits and to the gods of the household.

Food. The basis of their diet, like that of the Chinese in the district, was white rice. Except for a short time directly after a good rice harvest, this was mixed with beans or whole wheat flour in tiny balls. With it they ate cooked green vegetables from their own gardens, highly seasoned with salt and hot red or green chillies, fresh or dried. Their gardens had a succession of the following vegetables: turnips, celery, carrots, celery cabbage, spinach, white and sweet potatoes, lettuce root, rape, mustard, various kinds of beans and peas, maize, cucumbers, onions, garlic, leeks, and various other roots. In May, for instance, there were new potatoes, peas, and broad beans in the gardens and bamboo shoots in the thickets, in June green beans, rape leaves, and cabbage. Broth was made of dried beans and peas, and curd from soy beans. Nearly every family raised pigs. The pork was eaten both fresh and in the form of excellent smoked and cured meat and sausages. The blood was also mixed with bean curd and made into sausage. At rare intervals a cow was killed and the meat eaten fresh or dried. Now and then beef was brought into the village or bought in market. Of the bamboo two species were edible. In spring and fall bamboo shoots were much enjoyed. Potatoes were sliced very thin with the skins left on and fried. When corn was ripe it was eaten on the cob after being roasted in the hot ashes, or the kernels were mashed, wrapped in husks, boiled, and eaten from the husks. Persimmon and other pickles were made. If the water in the pond was not too deep in the spring, they dug for two kinds of water chestnut. Small fish were taken from the pond, either fished for with pole and line or caught in the hands as a large number of

people waded from one end of the pond to the other when it was about waist deep.

Two substantial meals were prepared each day, one about midmorning and one about dark. The times varied according to the time of year and its activities. Between these two meals they ate another of cold rice, sometimes heated a little with the reheated water in which the rice had been cooked, and a green vegetable. Just before the lunar New Year they made hundreds of glutinous rice paste cakes, white, black, and red. Then as they sat about the fires visiting, embroidering, smoking, these cakes were toasted for the noon meal. Some of them were stuffed with beans, nicely seasoned; with others they ate brown sugar shaved from the square cakes sold in market or cold boiled green vegetables with chillies. Early in the morning children were seen eating toasted cakes of rice left over from the day before or these toasted glutinous rice cakes. For guests the broth cooking in the bowl was usually of bean curd, chicken, or duck, and the dishes set on the board across the bowl were of beef, chicken, sausage of various kinds, and slices of fat pork rolled in parched glutinous rice.

They made their own rice wine. It was always on hand in abundance and drunk freely. An invitation to a feast was always called an invitation to drink wine. Guests were usually offered wine on other occasions, also, when some members of the family would drink with them. They were urged to drink more and at feasts were expected to drink until drunk to the point of garrulousness and hilarity. It was considered bad manners to allow a guest's bowl to become empty, until the guest refused to drink more and asked for rice.

Children seemed always to have something to eat in a pocket or tucked in the front of a blouse. It might be corn on the cob, roasted in the ashes, raw carrots, cucumbers or turnips, chestnuts or English walnuts, or sunflower seeds. They were allowed to go and get what they wanted from the gardens, to knock down nuts from the trees, or to gather wild fruits and berries. When the mothers came from gathering fuel they usually brought them such things as branches bearing wild currants and berries, small wild chestnuts or azaleas in season to eat. Also they seldom returned from

market without some small treat for them. Often at feasts a dish was filled with the nicest pieces of fat pork, and so on, and some child was given this to take home and share with others or eat it himself. They were often given the head or feet of a chicken or duck, which were considered special dainties.

When a number went to a bullfight or some other special occasion at a distance, they carried small covered baskets of finely split bamboo filled with boiled glutinous rice and slices of cold, roast fat pork, and cloth bags of wild chestnuts and sunflower seeds. These things they ate when they stopped to rest on the way or while the fight was going on. Besides they patronized the sellers of noodles, fruit, and rice taffy.

When a household invited others to work with them at some such task as transplanting rice, building or reroofing a house, cleaning stables, and transporting manure to the fields, the chief dish of the good meal served at the end of the day was almost invariably fresh bean curd broth.

For the lunar New Year and the feast of Ch'ing Ming pigs were always killed and fresh bean curd and new rice wine made in abundance. Pork, bean curd, and wine also featured the feasts in connection with weddings and funerals. For San Yüeh San the men prepared themselves a feast of chicken, pork, and bean curd. The chicken was the one killed as a blood sacrifice before the T'u Ti Miao. The glutinous rice was made into a paste and wrapped into three-cornered cakes in bamboo leaves for the festival of Tuan Yang. For Hsiao Mang it was boiled, colored yellow, orange, blue, green, red, and purple, mixed with the black variety and made into balls. I saw this among the Chinese in Yunnan at lunar New Year time. After some days that which remained was dried in the sun and parched.

Clothing. The Cowrie Shell Miao men all wore the Chinese peasant costume, but few of them could afford cloth shoes and therefore wore straw sandals. For special occasions such as a wedding or a bullfight they liked to wear a new, long garment, belted in with a long blue cloth sash, and another length of cloth to form a large turban (fig. 18, f). In addition to his good clothes with riding jacket, a bridegroom had a red sash over the left shoul-

der, knotted on the right hip, and a spray of silver leaves in his cap. A priest wore a long yellow or orange robe of cloth or thin silk, whose skirt was shirred onto the waist, and a fancy scarf about his head or a bamboo rain-hat. Both the chanter and the drummer at the ritual in connection with "opening the way" and burial for the dead, and the priests in the procession which opened a bullfight wore this costume.

Some of the very little girls wore the tribal costume only on special occasions, but the older girls and women wore it constantly. For everyday they were barefoot or wore straw sandals of their own making. In the winter they wound the legs with cloth from ankle to knee. The remainder of the costume consisted of long, wide trousers of dark blue cloth, a front apron of finer dark blue cloth embroidered in white, which had to be two and a half feet long, and a back apron one and a half feet long of hemp cloth dyed dark blue, a blue blouse made on straight lines but worn folded surplice to the right, and belted in with the strings from the aprons and from an embroidered overpiece on the blouse (fig. 8, *a, b*), and a woven belt an arm-span long. On the head they wore a turban, which was sometimes just a length of cloth wound around, sometimes a carefully constructed one. Of course for the roughest work they wore their oldest, patched, faded, tattered clothes (see fig. 19, *c*). Unless they had lost them or given them to a daughter, the women and girls wore silver hooks like an inverted question mark in their ears (fig. 19, *c*), and the girls wore, also, heavy silver bracelets, silver neck loops and rings, and a Chinese thimble.

For the hemp apron they raised the hemp and processed it, made the thread, dyed it, and wove the cloth themselves. All other cloth, except the bands used to hold the pad about a baby spreadeagled on the back, which was also woven of hemp thread, and both cotton and silk thread were bought in the markets. They made hemp thread for mending and sewing. Of the heavier cotton they liked to buy white in the piece and dye it a very dark, almost black blue; but they also bought it already dyed. They used nutgalls (五貝子) mixed with earth as a dye. The

finer cloth, of which they also made blouses, was already dyed when bought.

Hemp thread was made as follows: The stalks were cut close to the ground and stripped of the leaves, which were put back on the hemp bed as fertilizer. The bark and fiber were stripped from the wands and the bark loosened and stripped from the fiber with a knife, one end of the strip being held with the toes and one with the left hand. The long fibers were hung in the sun to dry and bleach. They were then boiled and sunned again. For the cloth they made a coarse thread by twisting the split fibers with the fingers and then rolling them against the leg or thigh. The split fibers had previously been twisted in bunches into a darning ball shape, and as the thread was made it was wound in a figure eight around a loop of bamboo. From this it was made into skeins, which were boiled and then wound into balls like those of cord (fig. 18, *e*). When weaving was to be done the balls were set into a tub of water and reeled from it onto the shuttle.

For married women the better turban was put on as follows: The hair was braided in two braids to the front, being pieced out with thread if the hair was scanty. One of a pair of chopsticks was laid across the head above the forehead and these braids wound around to hold it securely in place. A piece of blue cloth was fitted lengthwise over the stick and fastened with a needle or two, or sewed. Over the stick was put another piece of blue cloth with the ends folded on top of the head, and a longer piece of white was wound around the head at the height of the base of the stick. Another white piece was wound around the head at the line—high forehead, tips of ears, nape of neck. Finally a longer strip of dark blue cloth was wound around the outside of the white, but higher in the back, and the ends were tucked in. The ends of the white cloth were pulled out to stand up like the ends of a bow. If the family was in mourning, the outer strip was white. For special occasions a second, usually bright blue strip was put on in such a way that about half an inch of the lowest white cloth showed below it.

Unmarried girls shaved the head except for the crown and braided the hair from that

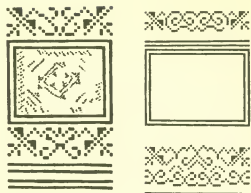
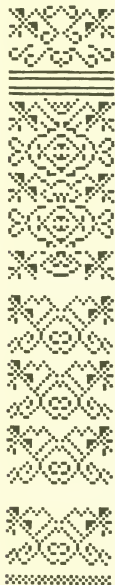
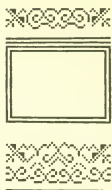


FIG. 8. Cross-stitch designs used in sections of the overpiece on the blouse. *a*, the front of overpiece; *b*, the back of overpiece (see p. 27).



a



b



FIG. 9. Embroidered design on narrow strip of white cloth.

strip of cloth. A piece of cloth, six feet long, was folded six times lengthwise and wound around the head with the two ends tied to stand up in the back like the ends of a bow. A piece of dark blue cloth, ten feet long, was folded in the same way, wound on the outside of the white one, and tucked in at the back. These two pieces formed a wide, flat, horizontal cartwheel turban with the braid lying inside.

A still more elaborate turban called for more strips in addition to the white and bright blue ones, which were sometimes lavender, black, other shades of blue, and white. This was worn by unmarried girls when they went to visit in other villages. More lengths of white cloth were also put on sometimes to make the turban that much wider. For such occasions as a bullfight they sometimes wore, instead of the plain dark blue outer strip, one of dark blue embroidered on the ends in white and lines of color, and for the length of two hand-spans in white so that when it was put on the design showed all around the head outside of a plain band of dark blue, and on the bow ends.

The front apron was embroidered in lines of colored silk thread and spaced rows of a design in white cotton thread. The overpiece (figs. 8; 20 *a*, *d*) on the blouse was made up of several pieces, each with its special name, method, and order of making, and design, and the stitches were so carefully taken that it could be worn with either side out. First, two long strips of dark blue cloth were covered an inch and a half wide down the center with an over-and-over stitch diagonally across two threads in coarse white thread. A narrow strip of white cloth of the same length was

then embroidered in color. In front the design was of red and green (see fig. 9) with three lines of green, red, and blue lengthwise on either side. Over the shoulder and in the back it was a straight line of alternate orange and dark blue down the center with a wavy line of alternate red and green on either side. These two were sewed together with herringbone stitch in white. The outer edge of the blue piece was turned under and covered with a weaving stitch in two or five colors, as the maker wished. In front and back, between the white strips, were set strips of dark blue embroidered in horizontal bands of cross-stitch in white, each stitch crossing one thread. On the under side the stitches had to be horizontal. Almost at the top in each strip was a medallion in color, in which a dark red was predominant (figs. 19, *a-c*; 20, *a, d*). The one in front had a cross, and diagonal lines in the corners. That in the back had a design of crosses, with a bit of blue, green, and yellow in the open spaces. The strip in the back was wider than that in front. Two pieces were made for the back, the upper one of color or black on white, the lower one of color on red. These were sewed on across the ends so that the lower side was a little wider than the upper. Across the very end was sewed a row of about twenty cowrie shells. In front a strip of blue was sewed across the three strips and strings fastened to it. On the under side a strip of bright blue was sewed on over the white strip which lay on the shoulders.

I tried to make the overpiece but was not very successful. Not that I felt too badly about it, for they said that women over fifty were not supposed to be able to see to do it. I managed to make the strips of dark blue worked solidly in lines all the way up and down the strip and with mitered corners, and the zigzag lines on the white pieces, to fasten them together with herringbone stitch, and to turn in the edges with a weaving stitch in color. But the fine cross-stitch in the center strips was too much for me and I learned only that the stitches must be horizontal on the under side by doing them the other way.

An invitation to "drink wine" in another village called for new trousers, blouse, and overpiece, if possible, and the wide turban.

For a bullfight, the fancy outer scarf was worn, and more wealthy girls covered the overpiece with thin silver disks, large ones on the outer and small ones on the inner strips. In the back, in addition to the terminal row of cowrie shells there were the following: either a silver ornament formed of chains, cowrie shells, and bells in various shapes attached to the top of the horizontal back strip, or a tier of four-petalled cowrie shell flowers with a semicircular row of shells below, another row of the shells in a semicircle, and the silver ornaments. For all these occasions the girls also wore silver neck loops (fig. 17, *c*), silver bracelets, and silver rings to the limit of their wealth.

The woven belt had to be an arm-span long and was made as follows: One end of a bundle of warp thread, white plus the necessary number of black for the design of flying birds down the center, was tied to a stake in the ground or a stick across the soles of the weaver's feet, and the other end of the part being worked upon to the belt of the weaver. The heddle was a bundle of threads attached to the warp in such a way that shed and countershed could be made by hand. The shuttle was a flat piece of bamboo, over which the weft threads were thrown and shot through. It was also used to beat up the weft. The pattern was put in by raising the black warp threads among the white as desired. This belt was an inch and a half or two inches wide.

The most elaborate turban and costume was reserved for a bride and her attendants (fig. 20, *c, e*). In one case these numbered seven, in two other cases, nine. For this occasion the girls sewed together all the good blouses they owned, so that the color stitching at the bottom of each showed. I watched one girl who had eight: one of heavy turquoise cotton cloth with white, red, and yellow lines; a lavender satin with figures in green, red, and yellow, with green, orange, and blue lines; one of soft, thin green silk; one of soft, thin orange silk; one of black crepe with white, red, yellow, green, and rose lines; one of deep blue, heavy cotton with the same lines; one of white cotton with blue, red, green, and orange lines; and an outer one of orange silk. The bride and three or five of her attendants

wore this orange blouse outside; the others black. To the outer blouses they tacked embroidered bands with silver disks on them as follows: at the bottom across the back and each hip one with thirty-nine small disks; around the upper arm two or three with twenty-two small disks on each; around the neck one embroidered in green, red, and blue with twenty-two large disks and a similar narrow band with twenty-nine small disks on it. Instead of the two aprons they wore a finely pleated, knee-length skirt of dark blue, almost black, heavy cloth with a six-inch band of white at the bottom. For the narrowest skirt twenty feet of cloth were required, or more. There were two of the woven belts worn with this costume, over a length of soft purple silk, whose ends showed in the back as if a handkerchief had been tucked in. The overpiece was covered with silver disks as described above and the extra ornaments were added. In addition, each girl had several neck loops and a silver chain about her neck from which were suspended five more neck loops so that they lay on her chest. At least two girls in one case had a row of small silver fish suspended from the chain in the back.

For this costume the women in a related household evolved a special turban for each girl, which consumed considerable time. It was like that worn by unmarried girls in that they shaved all but the crown of the head and put on the narrow, overlapping bands, but there were more of these — in one case seven, in another ten. The order of the strips was as follows: white, bright blue, orange, green, yellow, black, lavender, turquoise, white, lavender, from the inside out. These bands were so put on that they showed only a quarter of an inch of the one below, and the overlapping had to make a straight line up the back of the head. It was like that of the married women in that the stick was put on and the hair, braided in two braids, secured it. Two pieces of blue black cloth were put on over the stick in turn and sewed in place. A third piece, of soft, thin blue silk, was large enough to cover the stick and the top of the head. Another, narrow, but long, strip was put on so as to hold this firmly and tightly. A long strip of white cloth, folded six times lengthwise, was wound around the head

horizontally, and finally the embroidered scarf was put on so that the whole design showed and the ends were tied, at the back. All wore new straw sandals.

The costume in which two old ladies were laid out while the ritual of "opening the way" was performed was still different (fig. 18, *f*). The turban was that of a married woman, with the embroidered scarf. Several blouses were put on, of which the outer was of orange silk, and in one case there were two pairs of trousers. Both the pleated skirt and aprons were worn. On the feet were cloth stockings and Chinese cloth shoes. In one case there was just one overpiece; in the other three were tacked together. This latter old lady had kept the old style turban scarf, overpiece, and front apron. The designs were different from those used at the time I was with them and the colors were faded soft and lovely, showing that silk thread with good dyes had been used. That sold in the markets now soon fades to almost white.

The designs on the front apron were in rows, one of birds with wings outspread, one of birds with wings folded, as if rising, and one of an animal, all in white. The design of the front medallion on the overpiece was like that used in modern times, but that in the back was a square within a square, the points of the inner one to the middle of the sides of the outer one. The outer strip over the shoulder had a figure down the center. On the inner strip the four diagonal lines had become two, forming a cross. There were many strips with a dogtooth design on them. The cross-stitch designs were not of the fine type now used, but coarser, more like those on the overpiece worn by another group of Miao women I saw in the Lung-li market who said that they were Lao Hei Miao (Black Miao who had been long in the vicinity,) fig. 18, *f*. On the scarf the designs were of birds and medallions somewhat spaced. Her belt was of the same design as those I saw, but only half as wide.

These Lao Hei Miao women also wore trousers and aprons for everyday, but both aprons were of hemp and had no embroidery. Another group of Miao women, called by the Chinese Pai (White) Miao (fig. 20, *b*), wore the ceremonial skirt constantly over trousers

which came about six inches below the knees instead of to the ankle. Their blouses had a sailor collar and the overpiece was of woven hemp. Besides they wore a belt and overpiece of braided straw to protect their clothes from the heavy baskets carried on the back. Neither of these groups of women, who attended the same market in Lung-li, braided the hair, and the latter group made a very large, looped knot at the back of the head. Their turban was wound around it as well as the rest of the head and thus became very large indeed.

Agriculture. This was essentially an agricultural village, in which one family owned enough land so that it rented a little, some owned land and had the help of relatives in working it at especially busy times, some owned land and worked it themselves, and a few were merely employees, though related to those for whom they worked, and treated as subordinate members of the family.

Although those who were educated knew about the foreign calendar followed by the Chinese Government, it meant almost nothing to them. What they consulted were the lunar calendar and the *Farmers' Almanac*. For them the year began with the lunar New Year (February 15 in 1942) and its festival days. This was the slack season of the year, and for the first month they did as little work as possible. The lofts were full of faggots and brushwood for fuel; the granaries were full of rice, both "big" and glutinous, white and black. The New Year pigs had been killed and made into smoked meat, cured meat, and sausage. There were hundreds of glutinous rice cakes, jars of rice wine, and much bean curd on hand. The gardens furnished a greater variety of vegetables than at any other season of the year. Therefore, for the first fifteen days always and, if possible, for longer the men sat about fires in the houses, talking, smoking their long-stemmed pipes, drinking a little wine, and doing a little gambling. The women sat about fires at various points in the village with the little children and babies, embroidering, separating the hemp fibers and making thread, mending, smoking, talking, and amusing themselves with the children.

The girls sat about two or three fires between the group of grave mounds and a bamboo thicket near the bullfight meadow, while they embroidered and entertained young men from other Cowrie Shell Miao villages in very lively fashion, teasing one another, snatching turbans and ornaments, and chasing. Some of them played bamboo flutes of their own manufacture and sang. About a third fire sat another group of women and their little ones. A group of young people and a few among the others went to the second or third market after the New Year, but the young folk went only for fun. Groups also went to other villages, nicely dressed and bearing gifts of wine and cured pork, and returned after two or three days. For a death which occurred during this season there was a longer period of feasting by day and dancing to the *lu sheng* (fig. 18, *a, b*)² and drum during the night. On the fifteenth of the first month some daughters returned to share the family feast. At the beginning of the second month the Cowrie Shell Miao community in Teh-hua *lien pao* in Kuei-ting Hsien had a bullfight, to which as many as possible of the older men and the young people of both sexes went.

As soon as the first month was over (the middle of March, 1942) and signs of spring appeared the women went to the mountains to lay in an extra supply of fuel in the form of firewood, with which they filled all the available space in the lofts. The chief occupation of the men at this time was the plowing and harrowing of fields. The draft animals used were cows and water buffalo of either sex. First the fields which were to serve as seed beds were plowed, harrowed, flooded, plowed, and harrowed again. Women also continued to work in vegetable gardens and fields. There were periods of warm, sunny days broken by severe thunder showers when it became unseasonably hot.

When the seed beds were ready men cast seed into them from the dikes (fig. 16, *a*). Then a branch or a line of branches, usually of bamboo or pine, were stuck in the fields to show that they were planted to rice. These seed beds were sometimes wide and long and

² See p. 50.

very widely scattered near to and far from the village, so that when the plants were ready for transplanting they need not be carried so far to the permanent fields.

This plowing, harrowing, fertilizing, and seeding of fields to rice (figs. 15, *b*; 16, *a*) continued for more than a month. During that time the young people, both married and single, began the cleaning out of stables and carrying the straw and manure to fields into which the rice was later transplanted. I am not sure whether they were expected to initiate certain activities, or were just more enterprising, but the family in which I lived had their stables cleaned first. Perhaps it was because as the most scholarly of the village the men of this family could interpret the *Farmers' Almanac*. The work went on all day and there was much merriment connected with it. Some of the young men filled the baskets while the girls sat about and embroidered and joked with them. Even after they had carried their baskets (one on each end of a carrying pole) to a central point, they continued to embroider until Mo-mei gave a signal, whereupon they set off in a long file. First one, then a second, and then a third group of fields was visited, in different directions from the village but all belonging to the one family, whose holdings were comparatively extensive. At night the women of the household served a good meal to the whole company, for which they had made fresh bean curd.

On several days following this work continued and the stables of other households were cleaned. When it was a question of the household in which I lived, Mo-mei, the oldest daughter, set the pace, but she did not always make one of the group on other days. Rice in the seed beds was now well up above the water, making the fields look like lovely green lawns. One day I went with two of the women of our household to a field where they took out weeds, dug around plants of celery cabbage, beans and leeks, and cast in pulse. On another day the old mother put in the seed of chillies, using wood ashes as a top dressing.

During the third month (the second half of April and the first half of May, 1942) there was much rain, very welcome to the farmers because it insured the right amount of water

for flooding the fields. There were days of rain followed by rainy nights so that at least part of the day was sunny. They continued the preparation of fields and the carrying of fertilizer and began the harvest of rape, wheat, beans and peas.

For rape the whole plant was cut near the ground and the sheaves set, heads down, in the fields or along the beams of a barn or house. The seeds were later knocked out against the inside of a large, square wooden box in the field or on a threshing floor. For wheat each head was snapped off and thrown into a basket on a woman's back, to be dumped into the baskets on the carrying pole and taken to a mat on the threshing floor to be flailed. I helped twice with the reaping of wheat. Bean and pea plants were pulled up by the roots, bundled up, and hung up on the rafters to dry. When they were thoroughly dry the dirt was pounded off with a large wooden mallet, which could also be used to beat out the pulse. Or a flail was used. They were then sieved and winnowed in large, flat bamboo trays.

One day fully half of the men of the village, under the direction of one of the older ones, were working together reroofing a house, while the young people went back and forth with their loads of fertilizer and empty baskets. However, the chief activity at this time was the preparation of fields into which rice, now several inches high, was transplanted later. Most of the fertilizer was carried to prepared fields, but some to fields not yet wholly cleared of other crops.

On the first of the fourth month I saw the members of our household working together to prepare a field which had been cleared of beans and rape. Two young men, one a member of the household, a relative who was something of a hired man, and one from another household, were plowing, the plows being drawn by water buffalo. The second nephew together with his wife formed one "team" and the son and his wife another to bring up water from the pond, along which this long field stretched, and pour it onto the field. They had attached ropes with sticks in them to the handles and to a point near the bottom of each bucket on each side, to hold by, so that they might together swing

the bucket (regularly used for carrying water) down into the pond, up and over the bank (fig. 15, *e*). They got into a very nice rhythm. I had seen the second nephew turning a bean mill once, but aside from this that was the only real work I had seen either of these men do. The nephew seemed to be ashamed of it, too, for he stopped abruptly when he thought I was going to take his picture. However, evidently today everyone had to work. A younger boy was fishing and the other children playing nearby, so that it was quite a family party.

By the beginning of the fourth month (May 15, 1942) rice plants were ready for transplanting. Fields nearly to Lung-li, which is at a lower altitude, had already had plants set out in them (fig. 15, *a*). On the fourth of the month of the year I lived with them (May 18, 1942) our household again was first. They made quite an occasion of setting out the plants in a large square field, beyond the low hills and right beside a good-sized Chung-chia village. Very early the women of the family, with the exception of the old man's two wives, together with the women and girls of other households, bundled together the rice plants from one of the seed beds and piled them into their carrying baskets (fig. 16, *e*) — the same ones which had been used earlier to carry straw and manure. Two men were plowing and two harrowing in the flooded field when the long line of women approached and began tossing the bundles into the field. Before the plowing and harrowing were entirely finished the setting out of plants had begun. With Mo-mei setting the pace, each woman took a strip the width of the field, then turned and worked the length of it. They went home for a long lunch period about two o'clock. Afterward not all of them returned, but the work was finished well before dark. The usual good meal, featuring bean curd, was served. The family nonchalantly appropriated my bowls and chopsticks to use with theirs.

They were now in the midst of the busiest season of the year, for the harvest of wheat and its accompanying crops of broad beans, rape, and peas came just when the rice was ready for transplanting. One day I helped a widow (the chief shamaness of the village)

with her two grandchildren, a boy of twelve and a girl of ten, who were reaping wheat. Some had been taken from the field. Now she was cutting the stalks about four inches from the ground. I helped the children lay the stalks together so that a number of heads could be struck off together, and to pick up what fell to the ground. At noon the boy went home with a load of wheat heads and returned with a basket of rice mixed with wheat, a dish of pickled green vegetable, and the necessary bowls and chopsticks. The women led us to a spring on the floor of the valley where we could get cold water to drink with our meal. I doubted the wisdom of drinking from a spring so near newly fertilized rice fields, but it was a very hot day. We brought a bowl of water back to the field so that the woman could sharpen her sickle on a small piece of stone she carried in a bamboo holder. We worked until well after sunset.

Although there was a good breeze, these days were very hot and everyone hoped for rain so that the fields could have a good flooding. Some of the fields from which the crops had been harvested were planted to maize and long beans. More fields which had crops in them were later planted to rice. By the middle of the fourth month (end of May, 1942) some former wheat fields were already planted to maize and soy beans, well up and requiring cultivation. Others were being plowed as they were cleared. In general, all fields that could be sufficiently flooded were given over to rice, the rest to maize, beans, tobacco, red chillies, and millet.

After the day in which sixteen women worked together to set out plants in the one large field, there were a few other occasions when a large group worked in the same field or adjacent ones (fig. 15, *a*). But in general women from several small households worked together in bundling up the rice plants (one man worked in one group), reaping wheat, transplanting, and so on, or each family took care of its own fields. While younger women were busy in the fields the older women in our household beat out pulse, flailed wheat and winnowed it, sunned rice, and kept an eye on the children when they were not playing away from home.

About this time, when the people had just about given up hope of rain in time for preparing the fields and transplanting rice, the rain came in a flood. (Beginning of June) It poured one whole night and there were hard showers and storms on the next day. It rained for two nights following, also. This was just the kind of a rain needed to make upland fields ready for plowing and harrowing and to flood the lower ones. Our family had spent three days just before this in a second bout of bucketing water from the pond into the large field. Again men of the family and related households plowed and men and women formed teams for lifting water. Others were transplanting rice into fields of deep mud with no water on top. It was a time of many activities — harvesting, sunning, flailing, and winnowing of wheat, bringing in plants of rape, beans and peas. Both wheat and rape featured the markets in Lung-li and Kou-ch'ang. Rape is used to make the oil burned in lamps.

Another rain a week later lasted two days. I went to Lung-li to market on the first day and had the exciting experience of racing the storm home successfully. The hard rain of this day and night filled the rice fields and flooded even some that were rather well upland. The buffalo bullfighting meadow became a little pond. Almost all of the wheat and its accompanying crops (literally that, for they were planted together in various combinations) were in before this hard rain, and only a few wheat fields had straw still standing in them. Most of them had been made ready for other crops. Also, nearly all the seed beds had been stripped of their fine stand of rice plants and made into fields with even rows, like the others. It was almost time for the village to take a little breathing spell.

The men worked as steadily as the women, for the fields for rice had to be plowed and harrowed at least twice, some three times — after the wheat was harvested, when they were flooded, and again just before the plants were set out. It was common to see men plowing or harrowing at one end of a field, or in an adjacent one, just before the women moved in with their bundles of plants. I saw women carrying the plow and harrow to the field, but only two harrowing. I saw a few men bun-

dling up rice plants and carrying them to the fields, but no men setting out plants.

I once tried my hand at helping and did fairly well at the bundling of rice plants — at least as well as the twelve year old girl — but they feared I would be too slow and clumsy at the transplanting. It was a nice little trick to gather up the plants in the right hand and feed them into the left, then swish them around in the water to get all the mud off the roots. Usually two handfuls were so prepared and laid down in the water while another was gathered. Then they were all put together, washed again, and tied with a length of straw, of which the worker had a bundle stuck into the back of her belt or laid on the stand of plants before her. The mud was more than knee deep and I found myself clumsy in moving around and getting one leg after the other out of the mud without losing my balance. The setting out of the plants required the ability to move backward in a lively fashion. That night they inquired solicitously after my waistline, fore and aft, but all I could report was a very bad sunburn just above the water line. Also I had got rather wet, for their sailor pants, rolled well up the thigh, were much better suited to that sort of thing than my knickers. I found that they were all having dysentery, and I got a touch of it, too.

Foresight in gathering big bundles of fagots justified itself during this period, for no one had time to go to the mountains for fuel. They used at least one big bundle a day in our family for the fires under the big cooking bowl in the kitchen and under the little ones in the house, over which they cooked vegetables.

By the end of the first week of the fifth month (end of June) the transplanting of rice was complete. Then there was a season of cultivation, until the plants were large enough to shade the space between them. Women, and now and then a man, worked in family groups in each paddy, pulling out the weeds and tossing them on the dikes or treading them down into the mud. At the same time they had to cultivate vegetable gardens and the fields in which beans, corn, tobacco, chilies, and millet had been sown to take the place of wheat and other crops. Here they

used the mattock, and as they worked they fertilized the plants with night soil and wood ashes mixed with animal manure. Our family also used some lime mixed with manure, which was left over from several loads carried to another village eighteen *li*³ away. Toward the end of the fifth month several young men had taken out the pile in the room back of the kitchen in the new house and mixed it with manure, after which some of the village girls and women of our household carried it. It must have been promised for a certain day, for the trip was made in a drenching rain which made the road hard to travel. Mo-mei, the oldest daughter, was a member of this group.

It was interesting to note the attitude taken toward the transplanting of rice in different localities and among different people in one locality. In Yünnan among the Chinese near Kunming men bundled up the plants and transported them, while only women were allowed to set them out. I was told that this was a custom borrowed from the non-Chinese there, who believed that the women insured fertility. Here the women did all of it, with only a few men helping with either bundling or setting out. In both cases the men did the plowing and most of the harrowing. In the one Chinese family in this village and those between the valley and Lung-li I saw only men doing all of it.

While the busy season was in progress all the bundles of faggots in the lofts got used up, so now and then the women went to get more. Often it was much mixed with dried grass, fern, and so on, sometimes mostly of these. Also huge bundles of long, fresh grass for the animals, which were kept in the stables, were brought in. Women and children took water buffalo out once or twice a day for a soaking in the large pond and for feeding upon the rushes and reeds in it. But cultivation was the main task for all women, who took time out only to nurse a boil or catch up on washing and mending. The men went to market a great deal, most of them carrying wood in one form or another — planks, pieces of log, split firewood, faggots, bamboo poles. They seemed able, with what they could find

to sell from time to time, just to get through nicely until rice harvest, for the one of the year before had been poor. One day a large bundle of mallow was brought in and the fiber stripped off to use in bundling up bunches of grass. These fibers are tough and strong and used a great deal in place of rope.

It was after the middle of the seventh month (end of August) that I returned from a trip to Kweiyang, and just about two weeks before the rice harvest. During these weeks the chief occupation of both men and women was again the bringing in of fuel — grass, fern, weeds, and green bushes. They piled the lofts full of them. All of these made a hot fire but much smoke, and burned quickly.

Rice harvest began about the first of the eighth month (middle of September) and was the chief occupation of both men and women, with few exceptions. The women did most of the cutting of the plants, taking bunch after bunch in the left hand and cutting the stalks as near the ground as possible with the sharp sickle in the right. Sometimes the roots were exposed and had to be avoided. They could take as many as eight or nine in this way at one time, and lay them in rows for the beaters to take up. One or more large, square wooden boxes were set up in the field and men and women took up the bundles and beat the grain out into the box. These boxes were pushed about the field on wooden runners (the so-called summer-sled) as the cut grain in one section was beaten out and the women had gone to make it ready in another part of the field. If the field were a large one, as many as twenty would be cutting together; for the smallest two could take care of the cutting. One or more took up the bundles from which the grain had been beaten out and, making them into stacks, set them up about the field. They had a very neat and quick way of tying them. One or more filled baskets from the grain in the boxes and carried them two at a time by means of the carrying pole to the houses or to mats on the threshing floors. Some sheaves were also carried in and stored in the houses or hung up on the rafters. Twice during the day, toward the end of the morning and afternoon periods

³ A measure of length reckoned at 360 paces or

about 1890 feet (.36 mile).

of work, they all stopped and rested. Some lay down and slept on the ground; some older women laid stacks down on the ground and sat on them to talk and smoke; the younger women and girls got out their embroidery and worked on it. For about two hours at noon they went home to eat their lunch.

Women and children were also busy at home spreading out the grain on the mats, sweeping out bits of stalk, and so on, spreading it again so that it could all get the sun, carrying it in again at night in the baskets, and rolling up and stacking the mats. Some of it was bought by dealers who made a price on uncut grain, some carried to market and sold there. There were two kinds of rice—*ta mi*⁴ and *lo mi*.⁵ In some cases a row or two of *lo mi* was planted on the edge of fields of other rice; in some cases the whole field was of it only. It brought a better price than the other and was used for the New Year cakes, at the festival of Tuan Yang, for the colored balls at Hsiao Mang, and for several other festivals. A fine dish of fat pork slices rolled in parched *lo mi* was often served at special meals.

When *lo mi* was planted in a field with other rice it was not cut with it, but later the stalks were carefully cut with a small knife blade set into one side of a wooden holder, and the sheaves were brought in and stored first in the hall below and then in the loft. Early in the morning we would form a sort of relay team, of which the old lady in the hall below saw to it that they were tied securely, several children and I carried them up the ladder, one boy stood on a bench and received them as they were handed up, then tossed them onto the platform above the main hall, whose ceiling is higher than that of the side rooms, and a woman stacked the sheaves there. At one time the main hall, a half *chien* room adjoining, and one *chien* of the loft were full of grain beaten out and waiting to be sunned dry. In time this all got sunned, sent to market, or stored in a granary or another part of the loft.

Sometimes a day was taken to bring in more fuel, or grass for the animals. The water buffalo were taken out night and morning for a mud or water bath, and ponies were allowed to graze in the meadow, with a small boy to guard them. One day we cut in a field into which they had strayed and in which they had beaten down the plants. Another occupation at this time was the gathering of chestnuts and English walnuts. The custom of tree ownership was in evidence here. One day we gathered from a tree right back of the Huang family temple. One man got up into the tree and beat the branches. Others, including the children, gathered up the burrs and nuts. There was a good harvest. The children had fairly good-sized baskets full, from which they later ate as they wished. There were also several loads of nuts in the burrs, which sold in market for six dollars a *sheng*.⁶ Later we gathered from a tree in the wood. Here the tree was not only shaken, but branches were cut off and thrown down, with the burrs on them. A smaller variety, which grew wild on the low bushes on the mountains, was also plentiful.

The last half of the eighth month was rather rainy (after September 20th), with hot, sunny days between hard rains. Fortunately most of the rice had been harvested, but there still remained some of the ordinary rice and *lo mi* which had been left in the fields. This was not beaten out there, but brought in in sheaves, having been cut with the knife blade, not the scythe. *Lo mi* (glutinous rice) straw was used for the making of rice straw sandals, while the other was used for thatch and many other purposes. That not used at once was stacked up around the trees in the wood, a very pretty sight. The rain did not keep people from markets, for grain, chillies, and other seasonable produce had to be sold. The chief other crops at this season were soy and red beans, tobacco, millet, and a wild plant they called *ying tzu*. All of these had to be sunned on the mats, in bundles, or festooned across the front of the houses. Some of the beans and some of the rice from sheaves were

⁴ Ordinary rice.

⁵ Glutinous variety, white or black.

⁶ One-tenth of a *tou* (see note 7, p. 35), or 31.6 cubic inches.

flailed out. The first *lo mi* cakes of the season were made, stuffed with boiled beans and herbs. Bean curd was also made.

While the harvest was still incomplete they began the plowing, fertilizing, and harrowing of fields for the planting of winter crops of wheat, beans, peas, and rape. The same cleaning of stables took place, with the young people working in groups as in the spring and enjoying a special meal with bean curd as the chief dish at night. By the end of the ninth month the supply of fuel, which at one time filled the equivalent of a *chien* and a half in our house, was mostly used up. Again it was necessary to go out for more.

The weather during the tenth month (November) was very wet. Rainy days, or gray, misty ones, far outnumbered the even partially sunny ones. Consequently, the days were even shorter than the season of the year would naturally make them. Breakfast came between nine and ten o'clock by my watch. Then the cattle and water buffalo were taken out to graze by the children, women went for firewood, carrying a lunch with them, and returned just before dark for the evening meal and a little visiting before going to bed. They also tended vegetable gardens or sowed seed in the fields. The plowing, seeding, and carrying of fertilizer continued even after some fields had plants already well up. A few days were fine enough for sunning grain.

One of those days was the twenty-third of the tenth month (November 30). That evening and the next morning mats were laid on the threshing floor and the wooden machine for cleaning grain was brought out. Eight men with bags and baskets carried grain to a dealer in Lung-li on the twenty-fourth and sixteen men on the twenty-fifth of the tenth month. Each man carried four of the "small *tou*"⁷ used in this district. This was for our one family. Before they went they had breakfast. Each man carried a large *lo mi* cake stuffed with beans for lunch, and they had a bean curd supper upon their return.

Even before the end of the rice harvest and the seeding of fields to winter crops, the festivities of the least busy season of the

year began. During this period there was time for weddings, visits to other villages to "drink wine," and celebrate such events as *tso chia*,⁸ and bullfights.⁹ One bullfight was held at Hsin-ch'ang in Kuci-ting Hsien on the tenth of the eighth month (September 19), another at Yang-chia-sai on the tenth of the ninth month (October 19). A bride went from Yang-chia-sai on the sixth of the tenth month (November 13). On the third of the tenth month (November 10) several girls went to the village into which a girl from Yang-chia-sai had been married two years before, to celebrate *tso chia* with her in her new home. A girl was married into the village on the fifth of the eleventh month (December 12) and the old man's son took a second wife on the twenty-third of the second month of the next year (March 28, 1943).

Of course, even though this was perhaps the slackest season of the year, there was still much to be done in the way of cultivation of fields and gardens, and the bringing in of fuel against the period of almost complete leisure during the first lunar month. On sunny days grain had to be brought out and sunned, and some of that stored in sheaves sunned in the sheaves, beaten out into the wooden box, against an upturned millstone, or with the flail, dried, and stored. In preparation for the entertainment of guests, for the New Year feasts of the household, and that as little time as possible in the first month need be spent in preparing food, much time was also used in the making of glutinous rice cakes, rice wine, bean curd, cured and smoked pork, and sausage. The harvest had been abundant and the family could afford some new clothing, that those who attended bullfights and feasts might look their best and be a credit to the family. White cloth was purchased in the piece and dyed before being made up. All clothing and bedding, the houses, and their surroundings were cleaned and set in order.

This is the agricultural calendar, followed year after year.

Implements and Technique. The technique of farming was identical with that of Chinese and Chung-chia of the neighborhood,

⁷ These weigh twenty-four *chin* (1½ pounds), or 32 pounds.

⁸ See p. 51, note 2.

⁹ See pp. 76 ff.

with the exception of the fact that the Miao women seemed to do a greater proportion of the out-of-door work. That is, in a well-to-do Miao household the women worked just as hard as those in the poorer ones, but in a well-to-do Chinese family the women spent most of their time at home. The work of women will be discussed more in detail under Division of Labor.

The implements used were as follows: for breaking up and cultivation of the ground—plows, harrows, and mattocks. The plow (fig. 13, *d*) had an iron share like two overlapping shingles and one upright piece through the beam. The end of the beam was the handle. The harrow was two beams with iron spikes on the under side and a transverse piece at either end, the whole forming a rectangle with projecting ends. The mattock had a long, wooden handle and a blade of iron about six inches wide at the edge. The harness was a slightly bent wooden beam laid across the neck of the animal with a heavy rope from it under its neck and two light ropes to the implement. As the man plowed or harrowed he guided the animal by another cord attached to one side of the yoke. The plow had to be lifted a little when turning corners. In use the harrow was weighted with a large stone. For reaping, gathering grass, and gathering fuel the sickle was used. It had a short wooden handle and an iron blade, originally with a straight cutting edge and rounded outer edge, but with much sharpening becoming a crescent. The men had a wooden holder of the shape as shown in figure 10 which they fastened with a straw cord about the waist to the small of the back. The handle of the sickle was thrust into the hole in the top of this with the blade up. A little bamboo basket for the whetting stone was worn at the belt in front. For beating out the grain they used a square wooden box, four feet each way and two deep, an upturned stone, a flail, bamboo baskets, and a bamboo mat. The beater took up a bundle of rice and beat out the grain on the inside of the box or against the upturned stone set on the mat. Or the sheaves were laid end to end and flailed. The flail was two lengths of bamboo or sticks fastened to a short piece in such a way that the worker could hold one length in her hands and swing the

other under, back, over and down (fig. 16, *d*). Two worked together sometimes, but not necessarily in rhythm. The woven baskets were shallow, with handles on the top of the rim through which a carrying pole was thrust and secured by wooden pegs. The bamboo mats in twilled pattern were as large as sixteen by nine feet. A two-inch bamboo pole was fastened to either end to help keep it flat while in use and then easily rolled up for storage.



FIG. 10. Wooden holder for sickle, front and side views.

Two types of basket had a great variety of uses. In a loosely woven one fertilizer was carried to the fields and bundles of rice plants taken from seed beds to fields (fig. 16, *e*). In closely woven ones grain and other crops were brought in (fig. 16, *c*, *f*). When grain was to be sunned it was brought out in these baskets to the mats on the threshing floor and at night it was carried back in them. In this case the worker usually used only one at a time and someone had to help her swing it up to one shoulder, where she held it by putting that hand on her hip. She steadied it with the other hand. In them grain and other produce were taken to market.

Bamboo scoops were used to lift the grain from mats to baskets and a piece of wood with one straight side and a long handle to push the grain around so that all might get the sun evenly. The grain was first spread evenly on the mat and the bits of straw, sticks, etc., swept out with the broom of twigs. This was done several times. After a while the grain was all swept to the edges to allow the center to dry thoroughly and then to the center to allow the edges of the mat to dry. After this the mat was folded over the pile until it was possible to get several people together to put the grain into the baskets and carry it to loft or granary. For more careful cutting of rice straw the women had a knife blade set in one side of a more or less fancy shaped piece of wood or bamboo. This could

also be used for cutting the fibers from hemp stalks. Another small paring knife was used to separate the inner fiber from the bark.

For the hulling of grain (fig. 16, *b*) the following implement was used: A log shaped to a plank at one end and fitted with a pestle at the other lay between two posts set in the ground and was held straight by a log set in crosswise in front of them. There was a hole under the plank and one under the pestle. The grain was poured into the hole under the pestle. The operator stood with one foot on the ground and the other on the plank. As she pushed it up and down she swept the grain back into the hole with a small bamboo broom on a long handle. The chaff was sold in market.

For the cleaning of grain there was a wooden thresher set up on four legs, to a height of four and a half feet over all. Its essential elements were a hopper with two straight and two shorter, sloping sides, into which grain was poured from the top (fig. 16, *c*); a chute through which grain fell into a basket or onto a mat on the ground; another chute through which some grain mixed with chaff fell onto the ground; and a wheel with four blades, turned by a handle which stuck out as an extension of the axle. The end of the thresher opposite the wheel was open and chaff flew out through this. Until they began to turn the wheel, the hopper was kept closed by a partition controlled by a handle set in the side of the machine. All parts of this machine were of wood.

The iron parts of all implements were bought in market by the villagers, who dealt with certain Chinese workers in iron, or had them made by one of two blacksmiths in the *hsien* city. Carrying poles, yokes, and the wooden parts were also bought in market, as they were made by craftsmen skilled in their manufacture or of wood which the villagers did not have. But, as they had their own trees and bamboo, some wooden implements, wooden parts of tools, and all articles of bamboo except the small, covered basket carried on long trips were made in the village, either by the householder himself or by someone more skilled in the making of certain things. Thus, while I was there our family called in a Miao from another village to make

water casks and buckets for carrying or raising water, a man from the same village to make bamboo scoops and baskets, and a Chinese carpenter to make two large, racheted water wheels for a mill. The old man who moved away from the village was a head carpenter, capable of directing the work of making and setting up the framework of a house, and also skilled in working with bamboo. One of his sons had this ability.

Other bamboo baskets were used to carry small pigs to market, to bring in green stuff from the garden, to carry in the heads of wheat, and for the storage of grain.

Animals and Birds. In the village of Yangchia-sai there were just one female pony and her colt, which belonged to the wealthiest family and were used for the transportation of grain to market a few times a year. To service this mare a pony was brought in from outside. There were water buffalo and "yellow cows" used for plowing and harrowing, enough for the needs of all households in each family group. The milk was not drunk by the people. Dogs were used for guarding and as scavengers. There were a number of cats. Every household had chickens and most of them a pig. There were also several caged pheasants and two households had pigeons. Some of the young men had caged thrushes which they brought out in the spring to sing against one another (fig. 17, *e*). They would also whistle to them to make them sing. A number of these were taken in their cages to the spring bullfight near Yang-niu-ts'un.

Chickens, dogs, and cats went where they wished, except into the grain on the mats, but stables or pens were provided for the other animals. Ducks and geese were driven to the pond in the morning, watched, and brought in again at night. Pigeons roosted under the eaves. Pheasants were kept in large wooden cages in the doorway.

Not every household had cows and water buffalo, but closely related households worked first one and then another field belonging to the group, so that there were enough draft animals for all. The most well-to-do household had four water buffalo and two cows.

Division of Labor. It will be seen from the discussion of Agriculture, that the lion's share of the work fell to the women. Only

rarely did a man do any of the cooking. Butchering was done by men, but the preservation of meat and the preparation of dishes from meats was usually taken care of by women. They dried beef by placing the pieces on sticks across the opening in the stove from which a large cooking bowl had been removed and keeping a fire going under it. They cured pork and made sausage. Meat was smoked simply by hanging the pieces up over the floor firepit.

With the help of an older man now and then, women took full charge of kitchen gardens, from whence came vegetables used by the household for their own food or taken to market, and green stuff for the feeding of animals. They prepared the mash for cattle and ponies as well as the swill for pigs, and fed them. They also did most of the work in other fields after the plowing and harrowing were finished. If the ground was broken up not with the plow but the mattock, they did that, too. And cultivation from the sowing of the seed (the casting of rice into the seed beds excepted), through weeding, fertilizing, and transplanting to reaping was largely the work of women.

They gathered most of the firewood and other fuel, much of the grass for animals and for the raincoats they themselves made, and carried most of the water from springs for household use. They did their share of the cleaning of stables and carrying the straw and manure to the fields. They carried all the night soil from cesspools and applied it as fertilizer. If the pond was low enough in the spring, they got down into the thigh-deep mud and dug for the water chestnut known as *tsu ku*. Men, women, boys, and girls made a picnic of wading waist deep in the pond and "feeling" for fish and large snails, for food.

They bundled up the rice plants in the seed beds, transported them, and set them out. They reaped wheat and its attendant crops, flailed out the grain, winnowed and sunned it, dried the plants of rape, beans and peas, beat out the seeds and pulse. They cut the rice plants, both ordinary rice with the sickle and glutinous rice with a knife, helped to beat it out and transport the grain and straw, sunned, cleaned, winnowed, and hulled the grain, and

from the straw of glutinous rice made sandals.

They raised hemp in their gardens, cut it, stripped, dried, and bleached the fibers, separated the strands, and from them made the two grades of thread—one for sewing and mending and one for weaving into cloth. They gathered and dried nutgalls and from them prepared a dye, by which they dyed white cloth bought in piece in the market an even, almost black blue. They made all the clothing for themselves and their families and their bedding. They wove the straw comforter, too. Girls and younger women made the embroidery on the overpiece, front apron, and turban scarf, and wove belts, while the older women made hemp thread and did the weaving of cloth for the back apron and bands for the baby pad. It was the older women who wove the straw comforter on a vertical loom.

Three types of loom were used. First there was that described in the making of the belt. Second, there was the vertical loom used for the weaving of straw comforters. This had two beams, one high and one near the floor, from which the warp ropes of twisted straw went back and forth. Two of the poles supporting the rafters served as uprights. The weft was similar to the warp, except that straw ends were left sticking out so that the result was smooth on one side and had a nap on the other. The weft was sent through by hand, in and out, over and under successive threads as in the weaving of a rug or carpet. The third was used for the weaving of hemp cloth and bands.

Set on the floor was a substantial frame of two by fours about eight feet long and three wide, with pieces to brace it along the sides and, a little lower down, across the ends, also one about two feet from one end. The upper pieces extended two feet beyond the frame at each end. Into this frame was set another, lighter one, going into the upper horizontal pieces at the back, but down into the bracing piece at the front. It had a horizontal brace about a foot above the main frame, across the front of this lighter frame.

In the back, just in front of the uprights of this second frame, a board was put across for the weaver to sit upon. At the front end the yarn beam rolled in slots in the frame and

was held firm by projecting rods which rested on a board across the frame. From the yarn beam the warp proceeded across the horizontal bar of the lighter frame, through two heddles of the frame variety made of bamboo rods with hemp thread between them, which were suspended from a roller laid across the lighter frame or through holes pierced in it, by straw rope and vine tendrils. They were a little wider than the piece of cloth used in the back apron, and the threads were about a foot long. From the lower ends similar ropes led to the fronts of two pedals. Other ropes of the same kind led from the backs of the pedals to the horizontal brace at the back of the main frame. From the heddles the warp proceeded to a reed, also suspended from the lighter frame, thence to the cloth beam set in slots in uprights in the longitudinal brace of the main frame, its longitudinal pieces and projecting above. The cloth beam was then held firm by straw rope tied around it and the frame behind the upright on one side. There were laze-rods set in just behind the front board.

Shed and countershed were formed by depressing first one pedal and then the other. The weft was shot through by hand, wound on bamboo shuttles of the shape as shown in figure 11. The weft was beaten up with the reed. Most of the warp thread was rolled on the yarn beam, but some extended beyond and lay in a basket. The reed was made of two pieces of wood, between which could be set and fastened a removable frame like that of the heddles, but without eyes in the thread which stretched between. The weaver took hold of two vertical bars as she beat up the weft. The contrivance was suspended by ropes attached to those bars.

Women also cooked the paste and beans and shaped the glutinous rice cakes, distilled rice wine, ground the beans and made bean curd, including that mixed with pig's blood at the lunar New Year. They helped cut tobacco in the fields, cutting the leaves from the stalk in such a way as to leave a piece of it for a hook by which they fastened it into a rope of straw made as they went. These ropes were festooned across the fronts of the houses to dry, after which it was ready to smoke in their long-stemmed pipes.

The next day after a baby was born, the mother appeared with it in a pad on her back, and in a few days she was doing regular work again. As long as the baby was fed its mother's milk only, she carried it thus about her work at all times and of all kinds, especially if there was no older woman or child to carry it while it was asleep. She swung it down from her back and laid it to sleep on the pad in fine, warm weather, while she worked. On rainy days the children gathered around her and received some much-needed discipline as she sewed and mended.

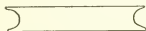


FIG. 11. Bamboo shuttle.

Women sometimes quietly watched animals as they grazed or ducks and geese as they swam on the pond. After the stable was built for House 11, the pit in the north room was filled in. One day I heard a pounding and discovered a woman of the household bending over and pounding with a heavy wooden mallet the clay which, well mixed with water, had been thrown into the pit until it made a floor level with the floors in the other rooms of the house. At another time I saw a woman making a clay floor in a granary. Women regulated the activities of the household and of cultivation, did some of the transporting of grain and other produce to market, the selling, and the purchase of supplies there.

Men did the plowing and harrowing, with only an occasional woman doing the latter. They cast the rice into the seed beds. Women put in other seeds. Occasionally an older man worked in fields or gardens. Men cut timber, sawed lumber into planks and beams, cut down bamboo poles, cut wood into lengths for firewood, shaped poles, and did most of the transporting of wood to market, though women sometimes carried a lighter load. Men helped with the gathering of fuel and grass when the need was most pressing and similarly did some of the carrying of water. They did an almost equal share of the cleaning of stables and transporting and spreading of fertilizer. They did a little more than an even share of the beating out of grain in the field

and transporting it therefrom. They helped with the carrying out of grain and carrying it in again at night, when it had been sunned on the mats.

One or two men swung the large wooden mallets by means of which glutinous rice paste was beaten in a stone mortar to the right consistency for shaping. Men did the butchering of animals. They did most of the cutting of tobacco and the making of its leaves into festoons for drying.

Men worked in large groups to bring the stone for a building's foundation, transport, bark and trim the logs, and from them make planks and beams. They fitted them together according to the directions of a head carpenter and set up the frame. They did the roofing of houses, whether the laying on of thatch or the placing of tile. They also made articles of wood, such as the wooden parts of some tools and implements, water casks, and buckets, and of bamboo, such as baskets, scoops, and mats. There were no special craftsmen in the village other than those who were especially skilled in the making of wooden and bamboo articles. When a building was constructed the owner made the stone foundation and other villagers barked the logs, sawed the planks, shaped the pieces of the frame, assembled it under the direction of one old man. Men might be called in from other villages for this work. In Yang-niu-ts'un local men not only did the work of building a new house but also made articles needed in it.

Men sometimes took charge of children, even to carrying a baby on the back while plowing. They were apt to be more indulgent than the mothers, and the children enjoyed being with them. Contacts with the outside world, other than a certain amount of buying and selling and social visiting with other Cowrie Shell Miao, were carried on by the men. Certain men of the village were heads of a *pao*, ten families, the smallest division in the Chinese political system of the district, and one older man with leisure and education was the chief of these. Small matters came before them, and only when they could not settle a matter was it taken to the *lien* (group of) *pao*, perhaps even to the *hsien* officials. Two men in this village have been teachers in the local school.

It has already been noted that men and women worked together in such things as the cleaning of stables and the carrying of fertilizer, the transplanting and harvesting of rice, and the transportation of goods to market.

Children also had their duties to perform. Older children took care of smaller ones, carrying them on their backs when they were asleep or wanted to be carried, watching them as they played, teaching them songs, and otherwise amusing them. From the time when they were just about able to toddle around they imitated the actions of their elders and gradually began to do a larger and larger share of the work. One girl of twelve was able to do almost as well as women twice her age in field work, but her loads of faggots were smaller. Children did most of the watching of animals while they grazed. They carried a lunch of cold rice in a little square, covered basket and stayed the whole day on the mountains or along the dikes. Boys learned to work in wood and bamboo by watching their elders.

Markets and Sources of Income. Markets were held in the *hsien* cities and in market villages. These were held every sixth day and so planned that merchants might go from one to the other of six markets in turn. In the *hsien* cities there were also "rice" or "little" markets held on every other day between the large, or regular markets. Lung-li was six miles from Yang-chia-sai, Kou-ch'ang in Kueiting Hsien, whose market was held the next day after each large Lung-li market, was about a mile farther and by a more difficult road. Most of the buying and selling from Yang-chia-sai was done in Lung-li. Kou-ch'ang was favored for certain local products such as seed grain.

Like Kweiyang, the *hsien* city of Lung-li was in an open plain, but a narrow one. The space between the mountains was sufficient for a walled town of one long street between the east and west gates and one or two on either side. There were fields outside the city walls. Its normal population was between three and four thousand, augmented during the war by the coming of some "companies" for the installation and repair of charcoal burners in motor lorries and the distillation of grain alcohol for fuel, an Army officers' train-

ing school, and the engineers' corps of the railway being built through the town from Kwangsi to Kweiyang. To it the people of the surrounding countryside, including at least three groups of Miao and the Chung-chia, went to market. It was also the seat of the *hsien* government and contained a middle school, postal and telegraph offices, and a co-operative bank, with all of which the non-Chinese, as well as the Chinese, had some dealings. A few of the more well-to-do families sent one of their boys to the middle school. Cases which could not be settled in the village or by the *lien pao* official, who was also a Chinese, were of necessity brought to the *hsien* court, as well as cases which involved both Miao and Chinese.

The market was held in an open space reserved for it just inside the east gate of the city. There were permanent sheds under which merchants who made the rounds of such markets displayed their stocks of cloth, notions, and articles manufactured elsewhere. Other sections of the grounds were reserved for eggs and poultry, sandal straw, farm implements, brown sugar cakes, fruits and vegetables, dishes and cooking utensils, pigs, tobacco, chillies, food stalls, articles of wood and bamboo, meat, firewood, grain, and the thin strips of sulfur-tipped wood used for carrying fire. The main market for wood was just outside the city gate.

People within a radius of perhaps ten miles and including Chinese, Chung-chia, and three, sometimes four, groups of Miao, attended this market to buy and sell. One group of Miao came from the mountains twenty-four miles to the south with charcoal. Each group had a distinctive costume worn by the women. That of Chung-chia women consisted of long, narrow trousers with a woven band of color at the ankles, a knee-length blouse in old Chinese style, a straight apron attached to the collar of the blouse with a silver chain and tied with embroidered strings in the back, and a tight skull cap. The women of one group of Miao wore dark blue trousers to below the knee, a skirt of many pleats of dark blue, bordered with a wide band of white, a blue blouse worn surplice and having a large sailor collar. Their legs were wound in many long strips of blue cloth. About the waist

they wore a long, woven belt of straw and over the blouse an overpiece of straw. Their abundant hair was made into a large knot in the back. Around it and the head they wound a dark blue cloth turban. These were the charcoal burners. The women of another group who called themselves Lao Hei Miao wore long trousers, two aprons similar to those of the Cowrie Shell Miao women, but with no embroidering on the front one, a blouse worn surplice, an overpiece of the same type as that of the Cowrie Shell Miao women, but with much coarser stitches, no color, and no cowries, and a turban of a length of blue cloth wound around the head.

Kou-ch'ang and Hsin-ch'ang, the market village a little over a mile from Yang-niu-ts'un, were typical market villages with the one main street widening out in the center to form a square. The main shops of the village lined the sides of this square. On market days itinerant merchants set up their stalls under awnings and local people and tribesmen spread their produce on mats on the ground.

The Cowrie Shell Miao took to market grain (rice, wheat, glutinous rice, millet), wood in various forms (planks, bamboo poles, firewood, poles, brushwood), fresh vegetables from gardens and fields, bamboo shoots, water chestnuts, sunflower seeds, nuts, rape seed, dried peas and beans, eggs, poultry, pigs and pork, grass raincoats, straw for sandals, and chaff. In the markets they bought cloth, thread—cotton and silk—salt, sugar, and such things as tobacco, red chillies, and fat pork for rendering out lard if their own supply had run low. The Chung-chia in the vicinity made wide white cloth, dried bean curd cakes, and straw sandals. The local Chinese (i.e., from Ting-shui-pa) sold straw sandals, tea, and hemp. The Cowrie Shell Miao made hemp cloth only for special uses of their own and straw sandals only for their own use. They had no extra hemp to sell, but did take to market sheaves of glutinous rice straw.

There were no shops whatever in the village. Now and then a peddler of crockery, vegetable oil, charcoal, or notions came through the village. The transaction then was usually one of barter, the women paying in rice and eggs. At other times Chinese money and measurements were used. The silver orna-

ments worn by the women were bought of a Chinese silversmith in a certain village and had to be paid for in silver dollars. Beads and embroidered strips were also bought of the Chinese.

Inheritance. The family was the social unit. Descent was through males and the oldest living male was the head of the family. Non-personal property belonged to the family as a whole and even clothing and ornaments might be passed around, especially when one or more represented the family on some social occasion. Then, in order to do honor to the family and to their hosts, they made a display of the family wealth. A woman owned the

ornaments she bought or had given her and the embroidery she made. She gave most of her ornaments to her daughters.

The possessions of the family as a whole were in land and animals. After the death of both parents the sons usually divided up the property, but all continued to work together in the cultivation of rice and the chief winter crops, leaving the care of gardens to the women of each household. If there were several married sons in a family, some had homes of their own, but they still gave mutual help. Some families had fairly extensive holdings in various directions from the village, but almost entirely in this one valley.

INSTITUTIONS

THE daily tasks of living furnished the framework for group activities within the family and between families. Such activities included those connected with the transplanting and harvesting of rice, the cleaning of stables and the transportation of fertilizer, fishing and digging for water chestnuts, going to the mountains for firewood, and to market to sell and buy, and the construction and repair of a house, for these in which members of several households worked together were greatly enjoyed in the doing and always followed by a special meal furnished by the owners of the house, stable, or fields worked upon that day. When they went to market they waited until several had their loads ready before starting off. They also returned in groups and stopped to rest and talk at a point about half way, where they could drink from a spring or in a wayside teahouse.

When a household was of the extended family type living in a connected group of buildings, they furnished among themselves a good deal of social life, for men and women worked together or the women in their group, children played together, and together they gathered around the firepits to eat, talk, and smoke. On rainy days the women also came together to sew, make thread, and mend. Even when the buildings were more separate, the homes tended to be grouped so that the households mingled freely and helped one another at work or in the entertainment of guests. A group of girls were often seen in the home of one of them embroidering, chatting very gayly over designs and plans, smoking, and laughing. The village was not extensive and there was constant opportunity to meet and talk, with much teasing and laughter. Women carried leaves of tobacco in the folds of their turbans, men in rolls in little metal boxes; pipes and tobacco were shared in a group.

Calendric feasts afforded the opportunity for both interfamily and intervillage activities. The festivals of the lunar New Year, Ch'ing Ming, and San Yüeh San, as well as lesser festivals such as Tuan Yang and Hsiao Mang, were accompanied by offerings to the house

god and ancestral spirits. Bullfights, which were the greatest social events of the year, for many villages joined in them and those from a distance were overnight guests in nearby villages, had a deep religious significance, and one each twelfth year was a sacrifice. There was no religious element connected with the departure of a bride for her husband's village, with the activities in his village, nor with the setting up of a household after a child was born.

These work-tasks and festivals involved varying numbers of people. For example, field work at harvest time and at rice-transplanting time sometimes involved a number of related households, with as many as thirty people working together. When the men moved blocks of stone or logs in house-building, as many as a dozen men worked together, helping the house owner with his task. In tiling the roof, some men carried the tiles from piles in another part of the village; others handed these from the carriers' baskets to the men on the roof, who laid the tiles in place. This operation involved fifteen or sixteen men. The man who took the lead in all of these activities was not necessarily the owner of the property concerned, but some one man more skilled in these operations than the others, a semi-specialist. One individual, the carpenter, seemed to come nearest to being a fulltime specialist of the men in the village. Leadership in the larger of the calendric feasts fell on the village elders.

The Family. The Cowrie Shell Miao family has already received some attention. It was the basic institution in their society, since most work activities and rituals were carried on within it. When tasks such as housebuilding and ceremonies such as bullfights required larger numbers of people, members of different households and even villages got together for these purposes.

Political Institutions. The Cowrie Shell Miao were Chinese citizens, and officially entitled to the same rights and privileges as other Chinese. Their form of local government was Chinese. The leaders of the village

were the elders, men who stood at the head of groups of closely related families, known as *pao*. There were three *pao* in Yang-chia-sai, and hence three elders, who formed the village council. Disputes within the family were settled, if possible, in the family, in the *pao* within the *pao*. Disputes within the village between members of different *pao* were ordinarily settled by the three elders. If, however, they were unable to effect a settlement, the litigants had the right to carry their dispute to the next higher official, the *lien pao chang*,¹ who was a Chinese, and so on up to the Chinese court in the *hsien* city.

Legal Difficulties. When I went back to the village for the second period of residence, the first of February, 1942, I found that the old man's son, Cheng-hsiang, had been in prison in Lung-li for two weeks. He had gone to collect the price of some rice sold to two families in the city. At the second house he had been arrested in an opium raid and held on the charge of opium smoking. On the sixth I went to the *hsien* magistrate's office on his behalf and found that he had been sent to the local Health Station for observation. The man in charge there was called in. He said Cheng-hsiang would be released and cleared of the charge at the expiration of the required period of observation. On the afternoon of the eighth he was allowed to go home for clean clothing. On the tenth he was released and cleared of the charge.

This same young man went during the last week in June to a place to the east to sell some pork. Upon the homeward way he was robbed by soldiers of the proceeds of the sale and carried off. His companion, who had carried the pork, escaped and went into hiding for a while. They could find out nothing about Cheng-hsiang until a letter came from him, saying that he was held at the point where the motor road forked, one fork going to Hunan, the other to Kwangsi. I went to the *hsien* magistrate for him, as they hesitated to go alone to the *hsien* office and felt in this case that my presence might obtain a better reception there for them, and was told to have them send in an official statement, which

they did. But before anything could be done he had been taken to Kwangsi. Later his captors took him to Hunan. He was well treated and not forced to become a soldier, but served the commanding officer as a secretary. He was later released. I like to think that a letter I wrote to a friend high in the provincial government had something to do with his release before the soldiers were due to return to Kweichow. It was not until after the rice harvest that his family sent him traveling expenses so that he might come home. He arrived in Lung-li on the third of December.

On the eighteenth of November I was asked to go to the *hsien* magistrate for them again. This time a relative by the name of Tang was being detained on complaint of some Chinese. This man owned a wooded slope. The Chinese, wishing to take advantage of the great demand for charcoal as fuel for motor vehicles, either had or wanted to set up a charcoal depot in Lung-li. They asked this man to make his wood into charcoal for them. No agreement was made, but they had him arrested to be held until he could produce fifty thousand *chin*,² more than sixty-six thousand pounds. What they wanted me to do was to urge the *hsien* magistrate to investigate the matter quickly so that the man could be released. This I did. But when the *hsien* magistrate said he could be released if two would go surety for him, and they asked me to be one of his guarantors, I refused, for I had never seen the man and could not find out what it meant to be a guarantor under such circumstances in China.

After I had gone into the *hsien* city to live they continued to ask me to help them. Upon one occasion I was asked to urge the *hsien* magistrate to hasten his investigation of a case in which a Miao had accused some Chinese of stealing logs from his house while only his wife and children were at home. The Chinese said that he had sold them the logs before felling the trees on a hillside he owned and that they were only taking what already belonged to them. I was asked to urge the magistrate to investigate the matter before the Chinese should have time to convert the

¹ The head official of the *lien pao*.

² One and one-third pounds.

timber into agricultural implements, and did so. I have never found out what the truth of the matter was, but the Miao lost his case because the *hsien* judge found that his witnesses had not told the truth at other points.

Another case was that of a Miao who had become so angry at his wife that he had her jailed. Her relatives wanted to have her released so that her child need not be born in prison. The husband had disappeared and could not be found to ask him to change his mind. I wrote to the magistrate in the next *hsien*, and after his condition that some merchant in the city go surety for her was met, she was released.

A family in Shang-sai wished to build a house. The head of the family borrowed money from his brother. This brother later brought suit for the return of some of the loan. This was paid at the *hsien* offices on the day set, but the brother did not appear to receive it. Later the family who had received the loan sued the brother for the expense to which they had been put because of his failure to come and receive the payment on the day set.

These, of course, were only a few of the disputes which arose in the village or among the whole group of Cowrie Shell Miao. Most small matters were settled among themselves. Much of the old man's time was taken up with such cases. Sometimes others of the village elders were called in for consultation. This was according to the Chinese Government system, though in effect this formed the village government, or council. If matters could not be settled by them, they were taken before the *lien pao* official, and, if necessary, to the *hsien* magistrate.

Economic Institutions. Within Cowrie Shell Miao society there were no specific economic institutions. Families formed economic units, and as such carried on trade with Chinese merchants and rice brokers in the *hsien* city. Just inside the walls were a few tea-shops owned by city-dwelling Cowrie Shell Miao, conveniently situated for visiting country kinfolk to gather before they returned to their villages from market. The shop keepers were gardeners and farmers as well, and much of their trade was really a form of family visits. In their shops, as well

as in their homes, they could entertain kinsmen who had come in to market.

Associations. As far as I could determine, the Cowrie Shell Miao had no associations.

Religious Institutions. The Cowrie Shell Miao had no formally organized religious communities. They did, however, have religious specialists, including priests. These were the men who performed certain ritual acts, though at other times they were just like other members of the community. Like all other members of the community they were farmers, heads or younger members of families, taking part in the usual economic activities of family and village. As priests they did not take the lead in rites of intensification such as calendric feasts and bullfights, as these were family concerns, and the head of the family presided. However, they had a definite part to play in childbirth, preservation of the good fortune of the house and village, death and burial, and the initial acts of a bullfight and the cyclical sacrifice. Rarely was a priest called in in case of illness; usually a shamaness was asked to perform her ritual in such circumstances. There were at least six priests and three shamanesses in the village. In one case a Taoist priest from Kou-ch'ang was asked to conduct his ritual in behalf of a sick woman. This consisted of chanting and shaking his pieces of iron and clappers as he moved about in a loose-jointed manner. In another instance a woman from a different village came to perform in behalf of a sick child.

Once in the village and once in Lung-li, I saw something which the head of our family told me was "Our P'u Sa." The Lung-li postmaster, a native of the province, said it was "a country superstition," not believed in by the Lung-li Chinese. *P'u Sa* is the Chinese word for Buddha and is often loosely used, as here, just for "deity." A man came to the village with a little red, wooden house on a bamboo pole which he set up before each house in turn, much as the priest and his assistants went from house to house "to bring good fortune." I did not find out whence he had come. The little house could stand firmly without support. The man stood beside it and chanted in Miao, beating the side of the house as he did so, and a gong suspended below the shrine

between "verses." There was an inscription on the roof, and others were about the opening, all in Chinese. Inside were three large heads made of wood, of which one looked rather like a Buddha, one a fierce god with moustaches, and one just stern and calm. This last was in the center and had a red canopy like a tent around it. There were also two fierce-looking smaller figures, one on each side. There was a square block of wood inside the shrine, as well. On top were long pheasant tail feathers; at some of the houses they added more. Beside the feathers there was a bag of rice, into which a small measure of rice was put by someone in each household. At the left of the entrance, looking out, was a red bag containing incense sticks. Some lighted ones were stuck in before the entrance. At some houses they added these, also, and at least one household gave him a dollar. At the right of the entrance was suspended from the roof a ring of iron rope with some iron disks on it, and a dagger which stuck into the floor of the shrine. This ring was rather like that shaken by Taoist priests as they chanted. Below and in front hung a row of cloth strips with inscriptions on them and a polished bull's horn — not a water buffalo horn but much smaller. In front, across the shrine and hanging below it, was a cord with hemp strings tied to it at intervals.

I saw the same sort of a shrine on Lung-li streets at New Year's time. However, there it was more dilapidated and had only two pheasant feathers, the one middle head, the bag of incense sticks, the row of cloth strips, and the cord with hempen strings. The bag for rice lay on the ground behind it. The

two priests were not the same, but the chant was the same and they had the same bored air. In both cases I believe they were saying prayers for the good fortune of the house and at the same time receiving a little rice as a fee.

Ritual Structures. The village contained no temple structure. Miss Li said that at one time the people here had a temple which was destroyed by soldiers — perhaps in the fighting between imperial forces and those who resisted them, hundreds of years ago. While I was there they had only three T'u Ti Miao (shrines to the local deity) containing cone-shaped stones, like part of a white stalagmite, not images such as one finds in comparable Chinese shrines. I saw similar shrines at the entrances to other Miao villages, along the highway, and near the buffalo bullfighting meadow at Yang-niu-ts'un. In every house there was a shrine to ancestors and the gods of the household.

Deities. Like the Chinese, the Cowrie Shell Miao revered ancestral spirits and believed in two spirits for each individual, one of which, the *hun*,³ was directed in the ritual of the "opening of the way" to "the level land of heaven," and the other, the *kuei*,⁴ remained near the earth and could be a source of evil influences were it not kept in good humor by offerings such as those at the time of a death. At the three shrines to the local deity the men only conducted a ritual, on the third day of the third month. In this case they appear to have modified one of the Chinese festivals. In the course of their ritual the shamanesses, I was told, invoked spirits which they called "P'an," "P'ei ch'ao," and "T'ei ch'ao."

³ The soul, the spiritual part of man that ascends to heaven.

⁴ The soul, the part of man that becomes a disembodied spirit.

THE LIFE CYCLE AND RITES OF PASSAGE FOR INDIVIDUALS¹

Childbirth. After a girl was married she returned to her parents' home. There she stayed, except for short periods in her husband's home during the busy seasons and at feasts, until she was pregnant. Before the child was born she went to live in his home permanently. Sometimes, but not always, when a woman was in labor a priest was asked to chant and cast lots in her behalf. This he did in a room adjacent to the one in which the mother was confined, or out-of-doors nearby. There were no midwives. The mother was assisted by other women who had borne children, either from her husband's or a related household.

The next morning after a child was born the mother might appear with the baby on her back, even in the kitchen where food was being prepared. There was no idea of impurity and she was not required to keep closely at home for a month or forty days, as in the case of Chinese in the vicinity and among some other groups of Miao. She might rest for three or four days, during which other women came to see the baby, but after that she worked as before at even the hardest of labor, with the baby on her back. I am not sure whether she was expected to refrain from certain foods, or not. I offered one mother an orange which she said she could not eat. She gave it to an older son.

Announcement Gifts. After the second grandson was born in the family where I was living, the father prepared gifts to send to the village from which his father had migrated, to the household in which an uncle still lived. First in the procession came two men playing the small trumpet. One of them led a black goat. This was a play on words, as the name of a goat (*yang*) has the same sound as the family name (*Yang*) and a word meaning "increase, growth." Then came two men bearing two poles, to which was fastened a whole dead pig, beautifully cleaned and white. After them came two men bearing a similar frame but empty. Last came a man bearing two baskets on a carrying pole. One of the baskets contained red candles and the other a

piece of gray cloth with the Chinese character meaning "to inform" on it. The father accompanied this procession. When they got to their destination a feast was held, at which the pig was made into the chief dishes.

Naming of Children. Miss Li said that boys were named after animals and girls "Mei" (daughter, or younger sister) with a number or other designation to indicate their position in the family. I did hear one boy given the Miao word for Rooster as a name; but most of the boys had Chinese names of good meaning. In one family all the five boys except the youngest had names in which one of the two characters was the same for all. When the oldest boy went to middle school in Lung-li he took a "school name." The names I heard for girls were "Mei" with some word of pleasant meaning, such as "Happiness," "Treasure," "Purity."

In the case of boys a "generation name," chosen before the child was born, was also given. He was not called by this name, however, until he had his own wife and family. It was kept in the family records and in those of the *lien pao*. In the village of Yang-chia-sai the oldest generation had the generation name "Heng," with an individual one, the next generation "Cheng," and the third "Tan." But several men of the second oldest generation were still called by their "baby names," and none of the third generation by anything but the familiar names or nicknames. Girls kept their childhood name until they entered their husband's homes permanently, after which they were known as XXX (husband's surname) XX (maiden name) Family; that is, XXX of the XX Family. After her husband died she was known as Widow XX (maiden name) and, if, as almost always happened, in the same village there were several widows with the same maiden name, she was known as Widow XX whose eldest son was named Y. For instance, if a man in Yang-chia-sai, whose surname, of course, was Yang, married a woman from the Wu family, she would be known after she entered his family

¹ See Chapple and Coon, 1942, p. 706.

permanently as Yang Wu Shih. If his wife were from the Lo family, she would be known as Yang Lo Shih. In the first case, after his death she became Widow Wu, and in the second Widow Lo. In Yang-chia-sai there were three widows known as Widow Wang, distinguished as the mothers of Yung-ch'ing, T'ieh-k'uei, and Cheng-hsiang. Only the last of these sons had a wife and family and had assumed the generation name.

Boys were more desired than girls because inheritance is in the male line and sons carry on the worship of ancestors, as among the Chinese, but girls were also loved and desired. They had a greater economic value than among the Chinese because of the work they did even after they were married. They also kept closer contact with their parents after marriage than Chinese girls can do. This was indicated by the fact that they took their maiden name, even though they remained in the home of the deceased husband.

Attitude Toward Children: Their Education. While the child was very tiny the mother carried it spreadeagled on her back. The pad used was stiffened and large enough to extend up beyond a very small child's head. Below the stiffened pad a long apron hung down, which was trimmed with bands of white on the dark blue. A piece of figured cloth hung down from the top, which could be thrown over the child's head to shield it from sun or cold. Under and over the baby's posterior were placed pads of palm fiber. Long, two and a half inch wide bands of hemp cloth were fastened to the two upper corners of the stiffened piece, extended over the mother's shoulders, were crossed on the breast, went back under the child to hold it, and then were tied in front at the mother's waist. All the material but the hemp band was bought in market and there was no cross-stitch design on the loose piece as on that of the local Chung-chia and Chinese.

If there was no elderly woman or older child with whom the children could be left, the mother continued to carry the baby and also took a toddler along to the fields. But it was the task of elderly women and older children, boys and girls, to take care of the younger ones. If it was the youngest child, it often continued to nurse even when it was

more than two years old. However, then the mother seldom continued to take it with her, for it could be left with older children in the same part of the village if there was no one in the family to look after it. Often it was the sole duty of an older child to be responsible for the little one. Thus, in the second nephew's family, while the oldest girl helped her mother away from home, the next one took care of the baby, played with her on her back when the baby wanted to be carried, had to be within call when the baby woke up from her nap if she was put to bed in the house, sang to her until the little one began to sing the most commonly sung songs — farewell to the bride when she left her husband's village, lament for the dead, and the shamaness' song — and amused her in other ways. When this baby was about two and a half years old another sister was born. Then the older one had to play with those of her own age while the same older sister took care of both the baby and herself. The one boy in the family, who was five, either followed his father around or played with the other children. In general, the children in each of the two parts of the village, Shang-sai and Hsia-sai, played together. There were nearly twenty in each group.

Much of the play of children was imitative of the activities of their elders. They made little loads to carry on miniature carrying poles, pushed the grain around on the mats, and so on. Children of six and older brought in small loads of garden stuff for the animals or small bundles of faggots and cypress sprays for the fire. But for the most of the day they were free to amuse themselves, fishing, gathering fruits, berries, or nuts in the village or nearby, or playing games. Certain of their games and activities were seasonal. In the fall boys played a game in which one boy tried to pull a stone out of a knot in a thong, with his own thong and stone. In the spring they made and whipped wooden tops. When the boys were playing with thongs and stones the girls were plaiting iris leaves and rushes into overpieces like the embroidered ones, pushing the pith out of plants to make neck loops and bracelets, and making pendant earrings of fern crosiers. I have also seen boys and girls together in a game like "Hawk and Chickens."

When they were a little older they watched animals as they grazed, cared for younger children, or did a smaller share of the same work as their elders. Even the very small girls were seen working on the pieces of the overpiece which employed the simplest and coarsest stitches.

Children were indulged as far as the family could afford to do so. The choicest bits were often given them. Mothers brought back little packages of these from a feast, or, if the child was present, they were put on a little dish which the child could take home and share, if he or she wished. Mothers brought back small chestnuts, berries, and azaleas when they went to the mountains for fuel. I have given an older woman something to eat, only to have a child snatch it out of her hand, and been given something myself for which the children have begged of me. A child seemed never to be without something to eat, tucked in a pocket or the front of its blouse. Parents almost never returned from market without a treat for them, and I was expected to do this, too. They even got into the way of demanding that it be the brown sugar cakes, of which they were very fond, and which were expensive, as no sugar is grown in this locality. Once the second nephew's little boy, Su-pao, asked me for sugar which I did not have. Next day when I was in their kitchen he threatened me with a chopping knife. His mother just laughed and said, "He wants sugar." His great aunt reproved him. However, mothers did most of the disciplining, which may account for the fact that a child almost always howled for his father when it was hurt, spanked, or wanted something very much. Tantrums were frequent, when a child screamed until it got what it wanted or until the parents were out of patience and gave it a slap. Some children went through a period of crying for little or no reason. Older folks just laughed at that.

Only a few of the boys, and almost never a girl, went to the school less than half a mile away, and then only for a few years (fig. 18, *d*). Still fewer went on to the higher school in Lung-li. On the whole they had little use for the education offered, for it was in Chinese, and like that in all Chinese schools, useful only to those who went into business or some profession. Most of the Miao

are farmers. In the family in which I lived the oldest man, one nephew, and the son had gone through middle school in Kweiyang. The nephew's eldest son was then in the Lung-li Middle School. Both the old man and the nephew have been the teacher in the local school. The son had considerable business to do for the family.

On three occasions when the moon was full and the night clear—the fifteenth of the Chinese month—children ran and shouted until they were tired out. Once this was at the temple while the Huang and Su families were holding the annual family feast. Twice it was in the village. Like the Chinese, the Miao seemed loathe to go to bed as long as it was light enough out of doors to see, particularly on moonlit nights. One such night someone was practising the *lu sheng* until well into the night, the children were shouting and the young folks laughing and talking. On two other nights when it was very clear and the moon bright, though not full, the young men played the *lu sheng* (fig. 18, *a, b*) and the girls danced. Lively, fast tunes were played, and all seemed to be enjoying themselves hugely. This took place at the point where the men made a sacrifice and had a feast on San Yüeh San. They told me they would have danced out of doors on the occasion of an old lady's funeral had there been a moon, but it came at the dark of the moon.

Youth. Young people grew up much less hedged about with conventions than were the Chinese of the locality. They worked and played together, as in the cleaning of stables, fishing in the pond, harvesting, and the New Year holiday. At that time girls sat about two fires in the space bounded by the buffalo bullfighting meadow, a bamboo thicket, a cluster of grave mounds, and the highway along the southern edge of the wood. There they embroidered, played the flute, and sang, as they entertained young men from other Cowrie Shell Miao villages. A group of women with their children sat about the third fire, but did not interfere with the teasing, snatching of turbans and ornaments, and chasing which went on. During this period boys from other villages stayed all night in the homes of this village, and a group went to market together. If there was sexual promiscuity at this time, it was not practised openly.

It might have been of the sort that existed in An-lung Hsien. There between the time of her betrothal and her marriage, which were arranged by the two families, a Miao girl would, without letting her family know, very often have relations with a young man of her own choosing, and bear him a child. I was told that often a husband would not acknowledge the first child, even if it were a son, and that when family property was divided this child would receive no share. The mother, however, usually managed to get money for her love child, so that he might not be without inheritance. From the similarity of the songs sung in the two places, I suspected that the same thing went on in a Cowrie Shell Miao village. Here are translations of the two songs. The one from An-lung was definitely an invitation from a young man for sexual intercourse. Some girls were more forward and grasping than others. I noticed that Mo-mei managed matters so that she and the girls she favored got most of the attention.

THE AN-LUNG MIAO SONG

For a long time I have been coming here.
The cool water here produces cool melons.
If one opens the melon he may drink cool water.
If you will not be my sweetheart, I shall not come again.

THE COWRIE SHELL MIAO SONG

On the top of the high mountain is planted a red flower.
Younger sister (I) cannot hope that older brother (you) will come.
Older brother (you) has ten years moved the flower;
In ten places there has been communication, in nine places complete.
The road is long, the *ma ts'ao* is red.

Now and then on clear, moonlit nights the young men of the village brought out their *lu sheng* and the girls danced. Otherwise one heard the *lu sheng* only when they were practising the rhythm and tunes—usually of an evening after work—at a bullfight, when the young people were together in a village after a bullfight or a wedding, and at a funeral. Then the dancing, accompanied by drum and *lu sheng*, went on from dusk till dawn for as many as four successive nights.

The *lu sheng* was made of wood, and was also called the *liu sheng* because it had six

pipes. These were of different lengths and fitted into the upper surface of a box longer than wide, which had a mouthpiece at the other end from the pipes. The player held the box in both hands and swayed as he played, with much vigor. The pitch of the *lu sheng* varied with the length of the pipes, some being high and flutelike, others deep and like an organ. The name has been translated "six-reed organ." All the young people liked to sing and had sweet, natural voices.

They also made tunes on leaves and were said to be able to send messages in this way. Among other Miao this was courting music, accompanied by words. It seemed to be so here. I was told that during the time a wedding party was in the groom's village they spent the night singing songs. I heard them do so when they were together on the night after a bullfight. Children were taught songs as babies and I once came upon little ones in the wood, sitting on a fallen log with bowed heads in their hands, as they sang the lament. When they saw me they laughed and stopped. One of the shamanesses knew many songs.

Betrothal. Miss Li said that the arrangements for betrothal were initiated through a middleman and that two of exactly the same surname might not marry. Of the weddings which took place while I was in contact with them the ages of the principals were as follows: boy thirteen, girl twelve; boy fourteen, girl thirteen; boy sixteen, girl twenty; boy and girl both eighteen. In each case they had been betrothed some years before, which would indicate that arrangements were made by the parents, though the young people probably were acquainted.

Wedding (fig. 20, c, e). Weddings were set for any part of the leisure season, from the tenth to the second lunar months. On the day before the lucky day chosen for the wedding the man's family sent two or three young men to receive the bride. In the two cases of girls from our village, the groom himself was one of these. They stayed all night in the bride's village and returned to his village next day, accompanied by the bride and her attendants, men bearing gifts of food, men bearing the girls' more ordinary clothing, and once a boy of about the same age as the groom from the bride's village.

On the day after the groom's arrival the bride and her attendants spent much time getting dressed. The longest part of the time was consumed in the arrangement of the turban, done by women of a closely related household. Meanwhile a feast was being prepared by men and women of the bride's family. It was served as soon as the girls—in one case seven, in the other nine—were ready. Indeed, they were urged to hurry up, as it was getting late. Tables were set in the court before the house. There the bride and her attendants sat at the first two tables and other women guests at the others. The groom and his attendants ate around one of the floor fires in the main room of the house. At one feast I attended, in addition to wine and rice, the dishes served were of various vegetables in season with pork, glutinous rice with sugar syrup, strips of very fat fresh roast pork, chicken, pork alone, fresh and dried bean curd.

While they were eating the loads of food and clothing were being prepared. The bride and her attendants got up from the table to supervise this. In one case the food consisted of a quarter of beef and a bushel of rice, in another of a large piece of pork, a bushel of rice, a jar of wine, and some cured meat. When they started out a woman from the bride's family ran after them and cut off a piece of the meat, which she brought back, laughing. The procession followed a definite order: the groom and his attendants, the men bearing the food, the men bearing the baskets containing the girls' everyday clothing and umbrellas, the bride and her attendants, all in single file. It was a gay and colorful one.

After the girls left the guests remained at the bride's home, feasting and drinking wine until they got quite happy and noisy. The object in drinking wine was partly to induce this happy state. Once when a visitor from Yang-niu-ts'un was in Yang-chia-sai I was invited with her to several houses in turn for a good meal. It was not considered necessary to eat much at every house, but the visitor, a very jolly woman, said I should have drunk more so that I could talk more.

The bridal party spent that afternoon getting to the groom's village. At the village they played and sang all night. The next day the bride's party was feasted by his relatives. On one occasion I saw, feasting took place about noon. The bride's party sat on two rows of benches facing one another on one of the threshing floors. The food was set in bowls on planks between them by women of a related household.

On the third day, after another night of singing and playing the *lu sheng*, the bride and her attendants returned to her village, accompanied by the groom, who brought gifts of meat and rice and spent the night there. When the bride and her attendants left the groom's village to return, the women of the village accompanied them, some stopping at the entrance to the village and some going a little way. At a point where the bride and her attendants were about to disappear from view they stopped and sang a song antiphonally with the other groups. Then they went on and the nearer group rushed after them to watch them out of sight. When they left they were still in ceremonial array, except for plainer blouses. They reached home dead tired and slept from the time of their arrival until the next day.

Tso Chia. After a girl was married she returned at once to her parents' home, where she stayed, except for short periods in her husband's home, during the busy seasons and at feasts, until she was pregnant. Before the child was born she went to live in his home permanently. When the first child was twenty-two days old girls from the mother's village were invited to "drink wine" in honor of the event. They called this "*tso k'ai*."² Some said it was the same as "*tso chia*."³ Others said that it was the same as "*ch'ih chiu*" or "*tso chieh*"⁴—a time of rejoicing, calling, of course, for wine in abundance. Among the local Chungchia this was a combination of "*man yüeh*"⁵ and the setting up of the permanent household in the groom's home. The bride's village sent with the guests at this feast among the Chungchia a red cupboard and clothing.

² This means to drink wine, or to attend a feast.

³ The first month feast—The feast also given by the Chinese when a baby is a month old.

⁴ Literally, "drink wine," another pronunciation of *Tso chia*.

⁵ This means a setting up the new household.

From this time on the life of a Miao bride varied little from that of other Cowrie Shell Miao women. It was not much easier, though a little more full of good things, perhaps, if her husband's family was large and well-to-do and she fitted into it well.

Death and Burial. When a very small child died, a little coffin was made by the men of the family, but there was no ceremony at the house, other than the singing of the lament by the mother and girls and women of closely related households. During the night when the second grandson of the old man died I heard the mother going all through the village singing the lament, beautifully and sadly as if in real grief. The child was buried next day but I do not know where nor with what ritual. They made it plain that they considered it a strictly family affair and I respected their wishes. The family was genuinely distressed and reasonably so, for he was an exceptionally intelligent child and the only remaining grandson. Moreover, not long before the father had been taken away by soldiers. The mother seemed beside herself for several days, calling another child by her child's name. The old man wept, then apologized for his "weakness." They did not tell the father, for they feared he would make an effort to get back and so get into more trouble.

When the baby took ill the mother said it had a fever. I gave it a small dose of quinine and aspirin. She said she did not know of any other symptoms. But the next day they called in the shamaness and, as he lay on a pallet of straw by the fireplace, he showed unmistakable signs of dysentery. Two other children in the family had it at the same time, but recovered. When I learned they had dysentery, I gave the parents bismuth, but it is difficult to administer and they said the children would not take it. That night the baby developed meningitis and died.

The length of time given to activities and their elaborateness in connection with the death and burial of an adult depended upon the wealth and extent of relationship in the family, as well as the time of year at which the death occurred. I was not in the village

when the man of fifty-odd died, but was told they danced for him. A man of about the same age died in Lo-ying, another Cowrie Shell Miao village near Yang-niu-ts'un. For him they danced two nights. A tripod was set up before a house in Yang-niu-ts'un in which lived a woman whose maiden name was Lo and who had come from that village.

The first funeral I saw was that of the oldest inhabitant of the village of Yang-chia-sai, a woman of eighty-four. She was related to practically everyone in the whole village and had relatives in other villages, as well. Moreover, she was the only one of her generation left in the village. Two nephews were with the aviation corps of the army, stationed in Kunming. She died on the twenty-third of the first month. I knew nothing about it until I heard the sound of drumming the next day and saw before the house of nearly every family in the village a tripod formed of carrying poles or other poles of the same length, tied together near the top. A wicker scoop rested on top of them, in which was a spray of thorn tied with rushes, a pair of chopsticks, and two bowls, one containing a cooked green vegetable and one cooked rice.

I followed the sound of the drum and found in the house in which the old lady's widowed daughter-in-law lived the following things: In the central room, near the right side as one faced the door and with its foot toward the door, was a coffin, raised a little from the floor. This was of the Chinese type and of wood of the proper thickness. The lid of the coffin was reversed. On it at the upper end was the body of the little, old lady, dressed in her best—new, high Chinese shoes, two pair of new trousers, the short pleated skirt worn by a bride and her attendants, the two aprons, three blouses, the outer one of orange silk, the overpiece, and her best turban with embroidered scarf. On the right side of her body at the waist was a large bunch of tobacco leaves. One of the local priests, who in this case, however, was acting in his capacity as a nephew, was kneeling at the foot of the coffin burning spirit money.⁶ This he lighted in the flame of one of two red candles,

⁶ A rectangle of brown "grass paper" with a de-

sign cut in it, used only for ritual purposes.

stuck with lighted incense sticks in a measure of rice on the foot of the coffin. Beside the head of the coffin, on its left, was a small table, on which were a jar of wine, a big bowl, and two bamboo tubes. The most skillful and oldest priest of the village, wearing the yellow robe and a large bamboo rainhat, holding in his left arm a chicken and in his right hand a tube of bamboo, was standing by the table chanting. At his waist hung a sword in a wooden sheath. Before him around a fire sat several other men.

In the front room to the right was a cylindrical drum, nearly five feet long and two in diameter, made of wood, with oxhide ends. It had an iron ring fastened to each side. It was so suspended by a withe of bamboo tied to a beam across the room below the rafters that one end rested on the floor at the window and the other was at the height of a man's waist. Above the drum on the beam was suspended an ox's shin bone. Over the beam on one side were three sheaves of rice and on the other side two. A second priest in yellow robe (not from this village) stood before the drum with two sticks in his hand. Other men and boys sat on a bench in the corner of this room. In the front room on the other side sat several women and their children about a floor fire.

As the priest chanted a male relative from another village who sat in the side room with the drum plaited a bamboo basket. At times the priest beat the drum. After a while three of the older women, two daughters and the daughter-in-law, went out and knelt beside the coffin, singing the lament, every line of which ends in sobs. As they sang the priest killed the chicken with the sword at his side and the drum was rolled. This was the ritual of "opening the way." While the priest was chanting, a male relative brought in a rice steamer and put lengths of straw, pieces of bean curd, and a measure of rice into it. He set it on the foot of the coffin. Another man put a large bowl of water on the tripod over the fire and set the steamer in it. After the priest had killed the chicken he stripped off its feathers and the head together, and gave the body to a man, who took it into the yard and cleaned it, then put it into the bowl under the steamer. The priest cut the two lengths

of bamboo lengthwise with the sword and cast lots with one pair. The other pair he laid across the top of the steamer.

A second, younger man put on the robe and chanted, being prompted, I thought, by the old priest, who now sat in the circle about the fire. As he chanted he poured wine from the bowl into the jar. Then a third man put on the robe and chanted as he dripped wine from the bowl onto the floor at the head of the coffin. By this time the bamboo basket was plaited. A man put cooked rice and bean curd into it. He shredded the meat of the chicken. Still a fourth man put on the robe and chanted. As he did so he dropped bits of the chicken into the basket. The women had gone back to their fire after the chicken was killed. I was invited to eat a meal of rice and bean curd broth with them. Not knowing what was going to happen, I went home. Later I found that the body had been put into the coffin and the coffin sealed, while the women sang the lament again. The next day I saw that the basket with rice, bean curd, and chicken in it, a small, square basket such as they carry lunch in, and the head and feathers of the chicken had been suspended from bamboo poles, stuck in the wall above the head of the coffin at the side of the room.

That first night from dusk until dawn a priest beat the drum and two young men of the village played the *lu sheng*. They stood beside the coffin, first facing it, then one in front of the other, and finally facing one another. A few of the young girls of the village stood in the porch and danced.

The morning of the next day I found that two frames had been put up, of which one formed one large and two small arches at the edge of the porch. It was of bamboo covered with branches of cedar and a few paper roses stuck on here and there. In the room another frame formed a small arch to the right of the coffin and a large arch on the left. A solid piece of lattice came down to a table over the foot of the coffin. On the table was placed a red tablet behind a measure of rice covered with white paper. Over the arches inscriptions were written in Chinese and over the coffin on the lattice a single large character. On either side were scrolls with inscriptions on them. In front of the lattice was a

square measure of rice with incense sticks in it.

That night the young girls, even the tiny ones, of the village and those from other villages who had come to the funeral danced around the room in which the coffin stood. Gradually young men playing the *lu sheng* joined them until there were nine. The little girls soon dropped out and went home to bed. The drum and *lu sheng* were played together, occasionally the drum alone. Some of the beats were on the bone. The rhythm was sometimes steady as if for marching; sometimes with several quick beats (usually six), a rest, and then one; sometimes syncopated, with many beats first on the drum and then on the bone. The dancing was a bouncing with bending of the knees, first on one foot and then on the other. The *lu sheng* players also danced and set the rhythm for the girls, who stood very close side by side in groups moving exactly together. The women of our household dressed me in their tribal costume and told me to go, too. I found the steady beat easy to follow, but not the syncopation, and the girls constantly urged me to be more vigorous. My efforts were almost too much for the solemnity of the old man's son, who was one of the *lu sheng* players. This drum and *lu sheng* playing were repeated for the succeeding three nights from dusk until dawn. During the day some of the small boys played on these instruments. All the Cowrie Shell Miao seemed to be musical and able to play, sing, and dance.

During the day men wrote appropriate sentiments in black on white paper and pasted them over the red ones on door and window frames. Banners of checked cloth with similar sentiments on white paper pasted to them were presented by guests as they arrived and someone in the family set them up against the front of the house. As groups of relatives from other villages arrived gunpowder charges or firecrackers were set off. Women in the groups knelt beside the coffin and sang the wailing song. On the third day after her death the most important men and women of the village were invited to a feast. I was included. A pig which one group brought had been killed and the dishes were of fat pork cooked in various ways, dry and fresh bean curd,

celery, carrots, and lean pork. With the rice was mixed red beans. The women and a group of young men ate outside, the other men in the house. As they ate some of the women put choice pieces in front of them and at the end of the feast the women of the household gave them leaves in which to wrap them and carry them home. After this feast I saw bowls of feast food placed on the table over the foot of the coffin and the red tablet, bearing the same inscription as that later to be put on the gravestone, and which had been set behind the measure of rice covered with white paper, set on top of it. On the fourth day a similar feast was held, to which I was also invited. Between times I was asked to hold a clinic for villagers and guests. For this feast nearly everyone sat around tables in the court and most of the guests were men. Many firecrackers were set off.

Burial took place on the twenty-eighth. After breakfast, which was about nine-thirty, I got there to find that the coffin had been taken out into the yard and set on two benches. The various frames and the drum had been taken down. Before the procession started two priests in yellow robes sat at a table at the foot of the coffin. On the table were four bowls of wine and four of pork in broth and four sets of chopsticks. One of the priests chanted as he dripped wine from one of the bowls onto the ground. A group of women sang the wailing song, kneeling beside the coffin. The chief mourners wore a strip of white cloth around the head, with long ends hanging down the back. The son's widow had her hair hanging down her back for all the time until the day of the funeral, when she wore the cloth as a turban.

As the procession started gunpowder charges were set off, the two trumpets of different lengths known as the *sola* and *lapa* were played, and the grandson knelt down facing the coffin with bamboo sticks wound in strips of frilled white paper in his hands. Young men from other villages were carrying the coffin at first, but those from this village took it from them with a bit of scuffling and laughter. The procession was made up of musicians; several small boys holding bamboo poles with the gift banners suspended from them; the two priests holding umbrellas; the

two chief men mourners, walking bent over and kneeling at every point where a path entered the one they were traversing, while the women sang the lament and gunpowder charges were set off; the bearers with the coffin; men carrying bundles of faggots, a roll made up of the frame which had been in the room wrapped around a piece of matting such as is used on a bed; men carrying the red tablet, and one carrying a chicken. Two of the women carried a roll of rags and one of the cotton from a comforter, wrapped with an old umbrella.

The procession went out of the village by the path to the south, then around it on the east and to a mound with other graves on it, just a little way northeast of the village. The graves already there were those of her husband's mother and his brother and sister-in-law. These graves had been faced with stones and a large stone tablet had been set up before each one. These bore the name of the deceased — married name in the case of the women, surname and given name in the case of the man — the names of the sons and grandsons who had erected them, and the date of erection.

When they reached the mound the boys set up the bamboo poles with banners on them on the mound. The men in the procession built one fire in the grave and burned much spirit money in it. They built a second fire to the right and a third to the left of the grave. These men kept the righthand fire burning briskly, while the women burned in the lefthand one the rags, the frame, and the mat. The nephew cut down a small tree so that the coffin could be moved from the mound into the grave. One of the priests took the chicken and, standing at the head of the grave, slowly waved it over the grave several times. He drew a little blood from the neck of the chicken with the sword hanging at his side and let it drip at the head of the grave. Then he threw the chicken so that it fell just beyond the foot of the grave. It was not dead and was carried home afterward. The bearers moved the coffin into the grave and laid the beam from which it had been sus-

ended for carrying across the grave, resting on two benches. On the beam they laid a bag with rice in it, two books, and a compass. The local necromancer, a Chinese, took careful reading of the compass and directed that the coffin be moved slightly so as to rest exactly north and south, the foot to the north. The various things were removed. The necromancer took a sickle, said some words, and made menacing gestures with the sickle at the coffin. He also threw clods on it. The chief mourner knelt on the coffin facing its foot. The men pelted him with clods, laughing loudly as they did so. Altogether the funeral seemed to be a mixture of wailing, mostly prescribed, solemn chanting, and festivity. The priest again stood at the head of the grave and chanted, holding the umbrella over himself as he did so. At times he struck the coffin with his free hand.

Men of the family set the jar of wine with a rice bowl over the opening at the head of the coffin and the basket of rice, bean curd and chicken, the square basket, and the head and feathers of the chicken at the foot. Other men were directed to fill in the grave and make a mound over it, sodded at once. In the mound they stuck the old umbrella, handle down, at about where the head of the coffin would be, and a bamboo pole with leaves and white paper streamers they stuck in the center of the mound. At the foot they set the bamboo sticks which the chief mourner had carried and some lighted incense sticks. All the party then went home. There the family served another feast and various priests chanted as they prepared offerings to the spirits of earth, in the same way as at the ritual of opening the way. Those from a distance then returned to their villages. The tripods were taken down on the day of the burial and in front of several houses they set up a pair of water buffalo horns on a millstone, with a spray of thorn and one of rushes between. After the man had died from the kick of a cow⁷ a similar arrangement was set up before his house and remained there several months. The grave of the old lady's father-in-law is the main one beyond the

⁷ See p. 13.

buffalo bullfighting meadow. Some of these graves are set exactly north and south, with the foot to the north — or east and west, with the foot to the east.

Another old lady, aged seventy-six, died just after the rice harvest began and in a comparatively poor household. One morning I went to see what the excitement was there and found her body in ordinary clothing lying on a straw bed by the firepit. (When anyone was seriously ill it was their custom to put him or her on a straw pallet on the floor by the fire, or on a bedstead in that room.) I watched them wash the body and dress it. The son washed the head and hands, the son's wife and another daughter-in-law the rest of the body. Then these two women put on the body her new trousers, the pleated skirt, five blouses, of which the outer one was of orange silk with yellow silk sleeves and band about the neck and down the front, a front apron, three overpieces tacked together, and a belt (see fig. 18, f). The blouses were folded surplice toward the left, instead of toward the right, as usual. The turban included the embroidered scarf and was put on very carefully. One daughter-in-law made stockings of white cloth for her. Later men's shoes were added. She wore earrings, two bracelets, and three neck loops of silver.

The designs on overpiece, apron, and turban were all different from those used by the Cowrie Shell Miao women when I was in the village. In design and fineness of work the overpiece resembled that worn by the women of another group of Miao in the *hsien* who called themselves Lao Hei Miao. On the apron the design was rows of birds with wings outspread, birds with wings folded, but as if rising, and a sort of animal, all in white. On the scarf appeared the same birds with medallions, not in close rows as now, but spaced. The design of the front medallion on the overpiece was like that I saw being made, but of the back one a square within a square, the points of the inner one to the middle of the sides of the outer one. The outer strip over the shoulder had a figure down the center; the parts of the figure on the inner strip made a complete cross, instead of being four little converging lines. There were several strips with dog tooth design on them instead of a

zigzag. The cross stitch designs were very coarse. Those I saw being made were exceedingly fine. The belt was of the same design, but only half as wide. The colors in the overpiece were soft and beautiful, showing that good dyes had been used in the fine thread. That I saw used faded in a very short time.

After she was dressed the son and daughter-in-law laid her on a mat on the other side of the fire, with a pillow of bundles of straw under her head. The coffin, meanwhile, was set in the main room of the house opposite. The body was carried over by four men, while two others held the mat over it. The men washed their hands after carrying the body over and laying it on the reversed coffin lid. The oldest women of the village, together with several other women — the two daughters-in-law, a granddaughter, and a daughter — ten in all, knelt on either side of the coffin and sang the lament. A piece of white paper was put over the face of the corpse. A bundle of tobacco and two cloths were tucked in, as if suspended from the belt. That evening and the next day women came from other villages. One of the principal ones was her daughter. As they entered the village from the wood they began the lament and continued to sing as they knelt by the coffin.

This time the ceremonies of "opening the way," providing food for the soul's journey and encoffining were held the first part of the night, instead of in the afternoon as in the other case, and the drum and *lu sheng* were played for the remainder of the night. There was no bone above the drum in the side room; instead the drum was sometimes struck on the edge. The chief priest this time was the younger man who had burned spirit money at the foot of the coffin for his aunt. The woman's son and nephew knelt and burned the spirit money this time. First a priest beat the drum as the other priest who was to chant took one of the cloths from the woman's belt, wrung it out of the water in a small tub which the daughter-in-law held, and lightly "washed" all her body and clothing. He then tucked the wet cloth back into her belt. Fire-crackers were set off outside.

During the chanting a man fashioned straw into a large square and put it down into a

water bucket, which he then set in the loft. The priest stunned the chicken by beating its beak with the piece of bamboo he held in his right hand before he killed it. The other priest rolled the drum at this time, and all the women present, more than twenty of them, sang the lament. The daughter-in-law with whom she had lived continued after the others and until she was forced to stop by the other daughter-in-law and led from the room. As a man measured rice from a tray into the cooking vessel, he counted about thirty scoops and then dumped in the rest. The first of the two priests who dripped wine divided the pieces of bamboo to put across the steamer and both threw them on the table as if casting lots. The chief priest told me afterward that the refrain of the chant for "opening the way" — *Tou tseng ou* — meant the destination of the spirit, the "level land of Heaven," in which other Miao groups also believe. The body was also put into the coffin that night and the drum and *lu sheng* were played until dawn. I must confess that, believing the encoffining would not take place until the next day, I went home too soon.

When I got there the next day I saw white paper with inscriptions on it pasted up over the doorways and a white cross of paper on either side of the door frame of each house. A millstone was set on a wooden frame near the house in which the body lay, but without either water buffalo horns or rushes on it. The table was set over the foot of the coffin and on it were placed the red tablet with its inscription, various dishes of food, and the measure of rice with lighted incense sticks in it. Her maiden name was Wu. In front of most of the houses of the village was set the tripod with a bamboo scoop on top. Each contained a bowl of rice, chopsticks, bowls of vegetable, mostly soy beans, and various twigs tied with long grass. In one case there was a dry twig, in one a vine, not the thorn alone, as before. That night young men played the drum and *lu sheng* and the girls danced, but not as sedately as before. One man from another village was especially lively and kept teasing the girls.

At daylight the next morning I heard the priest chanting. A little later the chanting was accompanied by the drum. When I got up I noticed that the table and the articles on it, the rice sheaves, and the coffin had been taken outside. The son's wife was lamenting beside it. Later that morning the burial took place. The son, wearing a peaked white paper cap and holding the prayer sticks, went first through the wood with the gravediggers. Then the procession, led by four women relatives, was formed. Two of them carried the same objects as in the other case. They were followed by the bearers with the coffin, and several villagers with many children. The procession went out of the village by the path to the south and to the grave site in fields belonging to the family, at the foot of the hills to the west. One of the men carried a bundle of faggots, one woman a mat and some comfortable padding, one clothing and an old umbrella. The women wailed as they walked. The men set off firecrackers and shouted. Two sticks with prayer streamers on them, exactly like the *gobei*⁸ I saw in Japan, had been set in the fields on either side of the path into the graves.

At the grave, which was in a row with several others, the men built three fires. The one at the right of the grave, facing out from the hill, they kept burning fiercely. In the one in the grave they burned spirit money before the coffin was set in. The third was to the left of the grave. In it the women burned the padding and rags. After the bearers put the coffin into the grave the priest, wearing the yellow robe and holding an umbrella over himself, squatted at the head of the grave. The refrain of his chant was "*Ha ma lou*," meaning "Don't come back!" He also slapped the coffin several times. The daughter and some children threw clods on the coffin and into the hole, which the men then filled in. They sodded the mound and stuck the umbrella into it. The mat was carried home.

A good meal was served at breakfast time, before the burial. At noon there was an ordinary one for the women and a better one, including chicken, for the men. Supper was

⁸ Prayer paper.

a special meal, with fresh bean curd as the chief dish. The wife of the second nephew in our family was in charge of preparation of this meal. The old man of our family attended both meals. I believe the woman who died was a near relative of his first wife. All that day first one priest and then another chanted, with or without drum accompaniment, casting the bamboo pieces each time. Chanters and drummer all wore the yellow robe, and the chanters a fancy head scarf. One of the chanters dripped liquor from a boiled green vegetable, one bits of green vegetable on a heap of cooked rice on a paddle on a chopping board, one bits of chicken giblets on this. The paddle was set on the shelf below the inscription to the house god. I was told that this was an offering to the Earth God, or perhaps to the spirits which stay near the earth. They believed, as do the Chinese, in two spirits for each person, the *hun* which they directed to follow the chicken to heaven, and the *kuei*, which stayed on or beneath the earth. All that day, also, a group of men gambled with Chinese dominoes around a table in the court outside the house.

Illness and the Most Prevalent Diseases.

The most prevalent diseases were those of the skin — boils, eczema, ringworm, infection from scratched insect bites; intestinal disease due to parasites; conjunctivitis and trachoma; malaria; colds and coughs. In the summer there was a great deal of dysentery. Many had pyorrhea and bad teeth. Several times I saw a woman of the village pull another woman's tooth, which came out very easily. I also saw them wash their eyes with an infusion of leaves, after which another woman picked at the eyelids with a needle. They had some herb remedies for such troubles as dysentery and made a black salve for sores and burns.

I took with me the specifics for the troubles mentioned and these, which a doctor at the Red Cross headquarters in Kweiyang considered it safe for a novice to prescribe for, were the only ailments I would consent to treat. I had many calls for these medicines. Always when I went about the village I found it wise to carry them with me; if not, I invariably had to go back for some one of them. However, they did not wholly trust them.

Always when the trouble was internal they called in the shamaness to go through her ritual and discover the cause of the trouble and the method to use to combat it. Of course they consulted her for other troubles, too, and on rare occasions asked a priest to perform a similar ritual.

One day I discovered that the young man in House 31 had a bad foot. I made him put it in hot water and put on salve. During the day a big carbuncle under his big toe came to a head, broke, and began to exude pus nicely. I left him with a rag around it, and he later went to sleep. They gave me a good breakfast with turnips in the soup.

At the funeral of the oldest inhabitant I found myself holding a sort of clinic after each feast — treatment for sore eyes, various kinds of sores and boils, and a teething baby whose stomach was upset. I had a great many calls in the village for eye drops to help sore eyes and trachoma, by even an old lady who was going blind. I had almost as many calls for salves to put on skin troubles, which were a great affliction to them. It was not safe to prescribe for more serious complaints lest they blame me when the patient died. However, the use of simple remedies was an excellent way to make friends, as I learned when I gave the poor little baby of one of the priests cod liver oil and the child began to pick up. Even tiny babies had big boils on the shoulder or foot.

Each summer while I was in the *hsien* there were epidemics of dysentery in the *hsien* city, brought by travelers — refugees and soldiers, chiefly — and this was then carried to the villages. One summer the whole family in which I was staying had the complaint. The second son of the old man's son died of it. The previous summer the first son and a girl baby in a nearby household had died of it, also. It once developed into meningitis and death resulted in a day or two. The only other cause of death among children which I knew of personally was malnutrition. In that case the mother of a baby who had just died, and whose breasts were painfully full, promised me to feed the other child, but never did so.

Four other deaths in the village during the period were all of old or elderly men and

women. One man of fifty-odd died from the kick of a cow, one of nearly seventy of heart trouble. Two old women of eighty-four and seventy-six died of old age. There were at least thirteen births in the period. This would have resulted in a slight increase in population had there not been families who moved to other villages.

Priests. The day that the wife of Cheng-hsiang was in labor for her second son, the old man who lived in the other part of their house and who was a head carpenter and a maker of bamboo articles such as scoops and baskets, set a bowl of rice grains with three lighted incense sticks in it on a bench and a bowl of wine on the floor in front of it. Then, holding a small chicken in his left hand, he chanted in Miao, cast lots with four pieces of bamboo, spilled out some of the wine, and then cast lots again. Finally he spilled all of the wine, took up the bowl of rice, and the bamboo pieces and went away. This was done in the room outside of the one in which she was confined, and the priest faced her door as he went through the ritual.

On that same day I saw the oldest and most proficient priest in the village squatting before a tripod of bamboo branches, behind and facing the corner of that house. Before him were a bowl of rice and one of wine. As he chanted he cast lots with pieces of bamboo. A boy from the house before which he was chanting brought him a piece of smoked pork in a loop of straw, a small bundle of straw, and a cleaver. He cut off a piece of the meat and put it on the burning straw, after which he spilled some of the wine on the ground.

Twice I saw this man with two younger men going solemnly from house to house. The first time the older man carried a bowl of rice, one of the others a gong, and the third a long staff of bamboo with colored paper streamers and leaves at the top, and a bag with rice in it. The man who carried the gong struck it as they went from one house to the next. At each house the older man entered and set his bowl of rice on a stool or bench, then, facing the door, chanted. The man with the staff and rice bag set the former down beside the door and both younger men went in. In each house they gave them a small measure of rice for the bag. The second time

the older man carried a live duck and a bowl of wine, one of the younger men a bag for rice, and the other a staff with leaves and white paper streamers, and a handful of spirit money. The older man chanted as before and kept muttering to himself as he went from one house to another. They told me this was called *sao ho hui*.

The activities of the priest in connection with death and burial have already been described. The priest also has a part to play in connection with bullfights (see pp. 76-80).

The ritual which Miss Li saw took place just outside of the village in the presence of the baby's father. This priest had before him a bowl of rice and one of wine. In his arm he held a live duck. After he had chanted he set an egg into the bowl of rice, spilled some of the wine, felt in the earth for "the child's spirit, or soul," wrapped up a bit of the earth in a cloth and gave it to the father, who took it and the duck and went home. The child died.

Before the taoist priest chanted, a table was set up before the shrine to the house god in the main hall of the house, partly in and partly out of the pile of unhulled rice lying there. Along the front of the table was the festoon of wooden daggers which usually hung above the door of this house. On the table were one of the priest's sacred books, a banner of white paper in a bamboo stick, a measure of rice with incense sticks in it, several bowls, and some bamboo lots. I had been invited to have supper with them because I had been helping them cut rice that day. While we were waiting for supper to be prepared in the home of the son, next door, we sat in the front side room in which the wife of the head of the house lay on a pallet of straw by the fire. The priest showed me three books from a bagful which he had brought with him. One contained his chants, one charts of the face with points marked on it, and the third explanations of the meaning of the dragon and other sacred things. Before he chanted again he took down a book which he had laid on the woven bamboo shelf above the fire, and placed it on the table. The three books I had been examining he put where the first book had been.

This man was dressed in a pair of loose khaki trousers and an old jersey. As he sang

or chanted, he was quite lively, sometimes facing the shrine, sometimes the door. In his right hand he jangled a chain with pieces of iron on it, and with his left hand he clacked pieces of wood. While he chanted he directed one of the sons of the family to burn spirit money at the door. Some had been burned before the table during the afternoon. He ate supper with us, but left early and went back to chant again.

This was the only home in the village which had the festoon of wooden daggers. I saw them in a Ch'ing Miao village near An-shun, where snail shells from a certain mountain were used in the same way, as a charm against evil. The Ch'ing Miao houses also had many imprints of hands in lime, and crude drawings of men, one holding a dagger, in lime on the outer walls of their houses. There they also hung up the placenta of a child in a bowl over the door. In Yunnan where I saw the hands in lime on the houses it was said to be a charm against disease, or to have been put on a house where a death had occurred. In Lung-li one of these priests was called in on behalf of the postmaster when he was ill. The procedure was about the same, but a chicken was killed and eaten by the family and by his wife's relatives, who had been visiting them and who had called in the priest.

The Priestess, or Shamaness. (In Miao, "*mu la*" or "*mo wa*.") There were three women in the village who were able to go into a trance, sing a certain song, and get a message from the spirits in times of trouble or illness. The eldest one, nearly sixty years old, was said by Miss Li to be famous for her skill. The one surnamed T'ang moved away while I lived in Lung-li. All of them sang in Miao, though Miss Li said the oldest one also sang in Chinese. Their instructions to the one who brought them the articles they used in the ceremony and their message were either in Chinese or in Miao. Usually the ritual lasted nearly two hours. The most elaborate one I saw lasted almost all day. Afterward a good meal was prepared, of which the main dish was the fowl—chicken or duck—killed during the ceremony. The shamaness was the

guest of honor. One priest told Miss Li that in his own village he received nothing for his services, but that in another village he would be given a fowl, eggs, or rice. The woman received a few *mao*⁹ to several dollars and was given choice pieces from the meal to take home.

Miss Li said one woman told her she had received power to perform this ceremony after she had had a serious illness, "died," and recovered. Certain actions were performed by all of them, but the oldest woman, whom I saw just once, was much more natural and spontaneous in what she did, less stiff in her movements. She also seemed to be able to see what she was doing and fully conscious as she gave instructions. I took down what I saw of the activities of all of them in general and of one ceremony in detail. It still remains to take down the words of the song, translate them, and correlate them with the actions.

The ceremony was always performed beside one of the floor fires indoors. The shamaness sat on a low stool or bench before the fire, with other women and children about it. The one for whom the ceremony was held was required to be present throughout, if possible. Others came and went. One or more, usually older persons, listened for the message. Others talked or listened as they pleased, sometimes exclaiming over something that was said, but most of the time seeming to pay no attention at all. Before the ceremony began certain articles were placed on a round, flat bamboo tray, commonly used in winnowing, on a bench at the side of the room. One person in the family saw to it that these or other articles were brought to the shamaness as she required them. Children were reproved for imitating her, though at other times they learned to sing her song.

Before she began her ceremony, the shamaness always put a white or blue cloth over her face. The cloth of her turban held it in place. Then she put her hands over her face and sighed, or sat stiffly erect and whistled a long-drawn-out note or a little of the song. Her feet began to move. Usually the knees moved rapidly and stiffly up and down, the toes of

⁹ Thirty cents in Chinese currency.

her feet never leaving the floor. She began her song, which was interrupted by speaking and action. As she sang, her hands assumed various positions: clasped in her lap close to her body, clasped around her knees, held stiffly out in front, held straight out to the side or back of the bench with the hands fluttering rapidly from the wrist, hung loosely at her sides before the bench, or resting lightly upon it, with one hand raised before the face, or both hands lying quietly clasped in her lap. When she spoke she often bent forward and put her hand down with the fingers touching the ground, as if feeling for something. She panted, sighed, or coughed, as if tired. She whistled, hissed, or clapped her hands. She always directed that fire be carried to the door once or three times during the ceremony, or that spirit money be burned on the floor by the tray. The one who carried fire to the door—a bundle of straw, several pieces of spirit money, or incense sticks—knelt down and, a Chinese girl told me, called the spirit to return. The ceremony ended as she swung a bowl containing wine or some other liquid in her right hand, then turned it abruptly upside down on the floor. She put her hands to her face and in a little while removed the cloth. Actions in between varied with the performer and the nature of the trouble which called for the ceremony.

I do not know the nature of the trouble in one case, but in all others but one it was illness which, if a physician had been consulted, would have called for internal medicine. Usually it had to do with the stomach or intestines. It seemed to me that every time I was asked to give medicine for worms, dysentery, or other intestinal complaint, they also called in the shamaness. The local Chinese firmly believed that Miao women could cause intestinal trouble and even death by transferring a poison from their bodies to that of another, and it may be that they feared I could do that, too! Once a child had worms, once another had dysentery, once a young man had some stomach trouble, once a woman had heart trouble with edema. Once Cheng-hsiang was long in returning after being taken by soldiers.

In one ceremony an egg was tied three times into a long, blue cloth, which the shamaness tied over her right shoulder so that the egg

was on her back. Once she tied a pinch of ashes in it; once she tucked the ashes into the back of her belt, and once she washed her left hand with ashes in it in a small tub of water. When a knot in the end of a cloth was thrust under a bamboo frame roofed with brown paper, she laid on it an intricate knot of straw which she had made. When she struck the frame into the fire with a hatchet the straw knot went with it. In another ceremony one egg was carried, still in the blue cloth, to the loft above the stable.

Following are the detailed accounts of actions in three ceremonies. In one case movements of hands and feet are correlated with the others.

(a) For Lao-hsi, a boy of ten, whose case I had diagnosed as worms. I gave *santonine* and *calomel*. His disposition had improved greatly by the time they called in the shamaness. It was one of the longest ceremonies I saw. Motions of hands and feet are not given, nor are singing and speaking correlated with the rest in this account. As for the actions and articles used:

First a bamboo scoop of fine ashes was brought. Of them she made two heaps on the hearth stone and patted them firm. A bamboo arch with dried plants and white paper imitations of them fastened to the uprights, and orange paper strips hanging from the crest of the arch, was given to her. She inserted the uprights in the mounds. Two bowls of wine, two bowls of small pieces of fried pork, and three pieces of the round, white glutinous rice cakes were brought. She arranged them as follows: the bowls of pork between the two piles and in line with them, the bowls of wine in front of the other bowls (toward her), and the pieces of cake resting against the outside of the piles of ashes. A second, smaller arch was brought and she set it across the bowl of pork to her right, parallel to the upright of the other arch. A live duck was given her to hold and a duck's egg was put into her right hand. This she broke into the hot ashes of the fire. (After these and succeeding eggs were cooked they were taken away by someone other than the attendant.) She held the duck in her outstretched right hand and let its wings flutter, then gave it back. A hatchet was put into her right hand, the bowls were moved to one side,

and the frame was taken away. She struck the hatchet down into the firepit between the piles of ashes and put pinches of them twice to the right ear, once to the left, again to the right and finally to the left, assuming a listening attitude each time. A second duck's egg was given her, which she also broke into the ashes. The attendant brought the duck again, but she did not take it.

Everything was taken away but one bowl, which remained by her left knee. An axe was put on the ground at her right. She took it up and used it in the same way as she had used the hatchet, taking up pinches of ashes as before. A piece of cured pork tied in straw so that it could be carried by it was brought. She put it into the ashes of the fire. The piles of ashes were taken away. The axe was brought and used as before. A *sheng* measure of rice was set before her and five split sticks with triangles of white paper inserted in the clefts were prepared and given to her. These she stuck into the four corners and the center of the measure. A hen's egg was brought, which she broke into the ashes. The measure of rice and the pennants were then taken away and set back on a pile of rice on the tray at the side of the room. This tray also contained incense sticks, spirit money, a pile of unhulled glutinous rice, and the bowls of rice, pork, and tea.

The attendant now lighted some incense sticks and put them, with five pieces of spirit money, a bowl of cooked rice, one of pieces of pork, one of tea, and the five pennants on a smaller bamboo tray and took them out of the room. A red thread and a green one were laid across the outstretched hands of the woman. Another bamboo frame was set before her, a piece of brown paper was laid on top, and three strips of red paper with inscriptions laid on top of that. She took up the axe in her hands. A long piece of blue cloth was brought. She tied a knot in one end and stuck it under the frame. She knocked the frame into the fire with the axe, while the attendant pulled the cloth away.

The piece of pork in its straw holder was given to her again. She put it into the ashes. A bowl of water was brought and a bit of

blazing leaf from the fire put into it. She took the bowl in her left hand and poured out some of the water. A bowl of rice was set before her. She poured out a little more of the water, then the remainder, and turned the bowl upside down beside the bowl of rice. The piece of pork was laid between the rice bowl and the firepit. Everything was taken away and the scythe put into her right hand. A small wooden tub with water in it was set near her left hand. She whetted the scythe on the edge of the tub, twisted it in the ashes, took up the pinches of ashes as before, and washed her hands in the tub. A duck's egg was given her, which she set up on end on the hearth. She threw the scythe five times toward the door. (We had been warned to move just in time.) She put a piece of blazing charcoal into the tub of water, which was then taken away.

A bundle of blazing straw was taken from the fire to the door of the house. Again the tub and scythe were brought and used as before. Another egg was given her and set up on end on the hearth. She threw the scythe twice and put hot ashes into the tub. Fire was taken to the door—a bundle of blazing spirit money. The bowl of tea was put into her right hand, and, as she swung it back and forth, the egg was taken away, wrapped in white paper. As she turned the bowl exactly upside down on the floor at her right the ceremony was completed.

(b) For Chuan-ch'ien,¹⁰ a baby of a year and a half, who had dysentery. Two days before the mother had told me he had a fever. I gave him a small dose of quinine and aspirin. Then I learned that he had dysentery, and gave her bismuth for him. They told me later that he had not taken it. I do not know whether that meant that he would not take it—it is hard for a child to take, being a powder that does not dissolve easily in water—or whether they did not give it. He developed meningitis and died during the night after the ceremony was held.

Early in the morning I saw in the court before the old house water buffalo horns set upright on the stones, with rushes under them. I was told this was a sign to ward off evil.

¹⁰ See p. 52.

During the morning I saw a spray of thorn tied with rushes lying at the corner of the stable before the new house. Later, and this must have been part of the ceremony, though I had heard no singing as yet, I saw the baby's mother carry a lighted bundle of straw to an open space before the house foundation in front of House 17, kneel down, and watch it burn. She left a small twig of cassia stuck in the ground and went back to the old house.

This was like carrying a bundle of burning straw, incense sticks, or spirit money to the door and calling the soul to return. When I heard the singing I went into the court and the child's grandmother told me to go in. I thought the old man's second wife protested later, but they let me stay. Thus, though the following gives what I saw in detail, I probably must have missed the beginning of the ceremony.

DETAILS OF CEREMONY (Speaking and song all in Miao)

Motion of hands	Motion of feet	Singing, and so on
Hanging beside thighs, before bench	Jumping together stiffly, toes not leaving floor	Singing
Right hand raised	" " "	"
Together before knees	Quiet	Speaking
Hanging beside thighs	"	Singing
Before knees, but not together	"	Whistle 1 note, singing
On ground twice, fore and middle fingers touching, others under	"	" " " "
Clap once	"	Whistle 1 note
On ground as before	"	Speaking, whistle, singing
Hanging, right raised at times	"	Whistle
Clap once	"	Singing
" "	"	Speaking
Taking up pinches of ashes and putting them to right, left, right, left ear	Quiet	Whistle
Hanging beside thighs	Jumping	Singing, interrupted by two whistles
Cupped, put down and up as if picking up something	Quiet	Singing
Repeat; clasped at knees	Quiet	Whistle, singing
Clap; raise right hand	Jumping	" "
Repeat; cupping, clasping	Quiet	" "
(From this point on the head was kept turning from side to side.)		
Right hand raised	Jumping	Singing, whistle
Repeat cupping, clasping	Quiet	" "
Hanging beside thighs; head still	Jumping	Singing
Clap; repeat; clasped on lap	"	"
Hanging beside thighs	"	Singing, whistle
Clasped	Quiet	" "
Right hand raised	Jumping	Singing
Hanging by thighs; clap	"	"
Clasped	Quiet	"
Clasped; left raised; clasped	"	"
Left raised; hanging by thighs	Jumping	Singing, whistle
Clap once	Quiet	Long whistle
Brought together; hanging by thighs	Jumping	Quiet
Hand on ground, as above; head turn- ing	Quiet	Speaking
Clap	"	"
Hanging beside thighs	Jumping	Whistle, speaking
On ground, as above	Quiet	Singing
Clap once	"	Whistle, speaking
		Singing

Hanging by thighs; clap once	Quiet	Singing, speaking
R. raised; clasped; hanging by thighs	"	Singing
Clap once; clasped	"	Speaking
R. raised; hanging by thighs	"	Whistle, singing
Clasped	"	Speaking, interrupted by whistle
Hanging beside thighs	Jumping	Singing
Clap and let fall, twice	"	"
Clasped; clap once; clasped	Quiet	Whistle, singing
Hanging beside thighs	Jumping	Singing
Right on ground, as above	Quiet	Speaking
Clasped	"	Singing
Right gesturing; clasped	"	Speaking
Before knees, but apart	"	"
Right on ground, as above	"	Whistle, speaking
Clasped at body; hanging beside thighs	"	Singing, speaking
Clasped	"	Speaking, interrupted by whistle
Clasped at body	Jumping	Speaking, singing
Right up; hanging beside thighs	"	Singing
Right stretched front, thumb and fore-finger pinched together	"	"
Hanging beside thighs	"	"
Clap; hanging beside thighs	"	Whistle, singing
Repeat twice	"	Singing
Right, left, right raised in turn	"	Long whistle
Clap twice	"	Repeat; singing
Clap 7 times	Fast jumping	Silent
Held straight out to side, fluttering from wrist	" "	"
Right on ground, as above	Quiet	Singing
Clap 9 times	Jumping	Silent
Out to side, fluttering	"	"
Held loosely in front	Quiet	Singing
Clap once	Jumping	"
Hanging loosely in front; right raised	Quiet	"
Takes up pinches of ashes, tucks in back of belt	Jumping	"
Clap 7 times	"	Silent
Out to side, fluttering	"	"
Hanging loosely in front	Quiet	Singing
Clasped	"	Whistle
Right raised; hanging beside thighs	Jumping	Singing
Clap 5 times	Fast jumping	Silent
Out to side, fluttering	" "	"
Right raised; clasped	Quiet	Singing
Hanging beside thighs; clasped	"	"
Hanging by thighs; clap once	Jumping	"
Clap 7 times; out to side, fluttering	"	Silent
Clasped	Quiet	Singing
Hanging beside thighs	Jumping	"
Clap once	"	"
Clap 9 times; out to side, fluttering	Fast jumping	Silent
Clasped	Quiet	Singing
Hanging beside thighs	Jumping	"
Clap 5 times; out to side, fluttering	"	Silent
Clasped; clap once	Quiet	Singing

Hatchet put into right hand	Quiet	Speaking
Takes hatchet in both hands	"	"
Strikes hatchet down, then up	"	Singing
Strikes hatchet down into ashes of fire-pit	"	Whistle, singing
Takes up in left hand pinches of ashes, holds to right, left, right, left ear	Squatting	Whistle, singing
Puts pinch of ashes in back of belt	"	Singing
Holds hatchet in right hand	"	Speaking
Lets hatchet fall	"	Singing
Takes up hatchet, then lays it down	"	"
(A piece of meat in a straw loop was offered to her, but she did not take it.)		
An egg was given to her, which she set up on end on the hearth	Squatting	Speaking
Clap once	"	Singing
Takes up hatchet	"	Singing, speaking alternate
Puts hatchet down	"	"
Clasp; clap once; clasped	<i>Mu la</i> ¹¹ back on bench, quiet	Whistle, singing, speaking
Hanging loosely; clasped	Quiet	"
Right raised; hanging loosely	"	Singing, whistle alternate
Hanging beside thighs	"	Singing
A hen was given her which she held by its wings with the left hand. With the right she pulled out some down and let it fall into the ashes. Let hen go.	Jumping	"
Repeated, but did not let hen go again	Squatting	Speaking
Hatchet put into right hand	"	"
Almost severed hen's head, holding it on a board placed before her	"	Singing
Put hen in ashes, where it died	"	"
	<i>Mu la</i> back on bench	Speaking
(The hen was later made the chief dish of the feast.)		
Hanging beside thighs; clap once	Jumping	Singing
Loosely in front	Quiet	Speaking
Right on ground, as above	"	Singing, whistle alternate; speaking, whistle, speaking
Hanging beside thighs	Jumping	Singing
She was given a small bundle of straw, which she tied in 3 bunches below and 5 above the straw which bound it, then held it in her left hand	Quiet	"
(Meanwhile the old man's first wife had been whittling 3 pieces of wood into the shape of knives, which she now striped black on the handles.)		
She set the straw bundle on the floor at her left, and various persons capped the 5 bunches with egg shell		Whistle, singing alternate
Hanging loosely in front	Jumping	Singing
Clasped in lap	"	Whistle
Hanging loosely in front	Quiet	"
She took up bundle with egg shells on it	"	Singing

¹¹ The Miao word for shamaness.

She took off shells	Quiet	Whistle, singing
She set bundle down at her left	"	Singing
Hanging beside thighs	Jumping	"
Hanging loosely in front	Quiet	Whistle, singing alternate
Hanging beside thighs	Jumping	Singing, speaking
Clasped	Quiet	Speaking
Hanging beside thighs; right raised	Jumping	Singing
She moved the egg shells	Quiet	Whistle, singing
She set up the straw bundle on the board before her	"	Singing
Clasped	"	"
A lighted bundle of spirit money was given her	Jumping	Whistle, singing alternate
A bowl of rice and one of wine were set before her. Some sprays of cy-press from the fire-pit were lighted and three sticks of incense laid across the bowls.	Quiet	Singing
A piece of meat was put before her and a piece of wood in her right hand	Squatting	Speaking
She took the three "knives" in her left hand and let the other fall in two pieces	"	"
She poured out the wine slowly	"	Speaking fast
She turned the bowl upside down	"	" "
Hands hanging loosely	<i>Mu la</i> back on bench	Singing, speaking
Hanging beside thighs	Jumping	Singing
(The straw was taken away. The egg had been quietly removed before.)		
Clap 8 times	Jumping	Silent
Out to side, fluttering	"	"
Clasped; hanging beside thighs	Quiet, then jumping	Singing
Clap 8 times; out to side, fluttering	Jumping	Silent
Clasped	Quiet	Singing
Hanging beside thighs	Jumping	"
Clap once, let fall	"	"
Clap 11 times; out to side, fluttering	"	Silent
Clasped	Quiet	Singing
(The chicken and hatchet were taken away.)		
Hanging beside thighs	Jumping	"
Clap twice	"	"
(Before her are now the upturned bowl with two pieces of wood on it, one with incense sticks across it, and the three knives, with a bowl back of them.)		
Clap twice	Quiet	Speaking
Clap once	"	Singing
Hanging beside thighs	Jumping	Singing
Clap; raise right hand	"	"
Clasped	Quiet	Singing, speaking, whistle, speaking, whistle, sing- ing
Hanging beside thighs	Jumping	Singing
Clap 9 times; out to side, fluttering	"	Silent
Hanging beside thighs	"	Singing
(The feathers were taken from the fire-pit.)		
Clap 12 times; out to side, fluttering	Jumping	Silent
Hanging loosely, then clasped; repeat	Quiet	Singing

Hanging beside thighs	Jumping	Singing
Clap 7 times; out to side, fluttering	"	Silent
Clasped	Quiet	Singing
Hanging beside thighs	Jumping	Singing
Clap 9 times; out to side, fluttering	"	Silent
Clasped	Quiet	Singing
(A branch of bamboo and a stick were placed in the ashes.)		
Clap 5 times; out to side, fluttering	Jumping	Silent
Clasped	Quiet	Singing
Hanging beside thighs	Jumping	"
Clap 6 times; out to side, fluttering	"	Silent
Hanging loosely in front	Quiet	Singing
Clasped	"	Whistle, singing
Clap 9 times; out to side, fluttering	Jumping	Silent
Hanging loosely in front	Quiet	Singing
(An egg was placed at her right. The scythe was brought and the board taken away.)		
She took the scythe and sharpened it on the edge of the little tub of water.	Squatting	Speaking
She set it up on the hearth handle down, took it up, and moved the ashes in the fire-pit		
She took up pinches of ashes, put them to her ears as before and into the back of her belt	Squatting	Singing
She was given an egg, which she set up on end	"	Speaking
Clap once	<i>Mu la</i> back on bench	Singing
(Ashes were put into the water in the tub; it was taken away.)		
She threw the scythe twice, almost to the door	Quiet	Speaking
Hanging beside thighs	Jumping	Singing
Clap 6 times; out at side, fluttering	"	Silent
Hanging loosely in front	Quiet, then jumping	Singing, whistle
She took the bamboo branch in her left hand	Quiet	Speaking
She laid it aside	"	Singing
Hanging beside thighs	Jumping	Singing, whistle, alternate
Clasped	Quiet	Repeat thrice
Hanging at side; right raised	Jumping	Singing, whistle
(Another bamboo branch was brought.)		
With her left hand she set it on the hearth	Squatting	Speaking, singing, whistle
(A lighted stick was held under the branch.)		
She shook the branch		Blowing
(A piece of blue cloth was held under the branch, which was shaken as lighted sticks were held under it.)		
(More sticks were lighted and used thus.)		
She shook the branch again		Singing
(Sticks were used as if looking for something fallen from the branch.)		
Clap once; then hanging loosely	<i>Mu la</i> back on bench	Singing
Hanging beside thighs	Jumping	"
Holding edge of bench	"	Whistle, singing
Clasped	Quiet	"
(Another branch was brought and used as before. Two or more women looked for something and when it was found in rolled-up leaves, they wrapped it in the cloth and took it away. Much concern was shown about this and much care taken to insure getting something.)		
Clasped	Quiet	Singing

Another egg was brought; she set it up on end	Squatting	Speaking
Clasped	<i>Mu la</i> back on bench	Singing
She broke a leafless bamboo branch and put it into the ashes	Quiet	Singing, whistle
Hanging beside thighs	"	Speaking
Clasped	"	Singing, whistle
Hanging beside thighs	Jumping	" "
Another chicken was brought, from which she took more feathers and put them into the fire	Squatting	Speaking
	<i>Mu la</i> back on bench	
Out at side, fluttering	Jumping	Silent
Hanging loosely	"	Singing
Clap once; out at side, fluttering	"	Silent
She tied a string to the leg of the chicken	"	Singing
Out at side, fluttering	"	Silent
Hanging beside thighs	"	Singing
Clap 10 times; out at side, fluttering	"	Silent
Hanging loosely	Quiet	Singing, speaking
She put pinches of ashes to her ears as before	Squatting	" " , alternate
An egg was brought; she set it on end	"	Speaking
Clap once; hanging beside thighs	<i>Mu la</i> back on bench, feet jumping	Singing
Clap 10 times; out to side, fluttering	Jumping	Silent
Hanging beside thighs	"	Singing
Clap 10 times; out at side, fluttering	"	Silent
Hanging beside thighs	"	Singing
Clap 10 times; out at side, fluttering	"	Silent
Clasped	Quiet	Singing
Hanging beside thighs	Jumping	Singing
Clasped	Quiet	"
Hanging beside thighs	Jumping	"
Clap 12 times; out at side, fluttering	"	Silent
Right on ground, as before	Quiet	Singing
Hanging beside thighs	Jumping	"
She put a pinch of ashes at back of belt	Quiet	"
Clap once	Jumping	"
Clap 12 times; out at side, fluttering	"	Silent
Clasped	Quiet	Singing
Right on ground, as before	"	"
Hanging beside thighs	Jumping	"
Clap 5 times; at side, fluttering	"	Silent
Hanging loosely in front	Quiet	Speaking
Clasped	Squatting	"
She picked up the hatchet and struck it on the hearth, then in the ashes. She took up pinches of ashes as before, and held them to her ear, then put a pinch in her belt	<i>Mu la</i> back on bench	Speaking, singing
She held the piece of meat over the ashes, then put it in them	Squatting	Speaking
Clap once	<i>Mu la</i> back on bench	"
Resting on bench	Jumping	Singing
(The piece of meat was taken out.)		
Clap 4 times; out at side, fluttering	Jumping	Silent

Hanging beside thighs	Jumping	Singing
Clap 7 times; out at side, fluttering	"	Silent
Clasped	Quiet	Singing
Hanging beside thighs	Jumping	"
Clasped	Quiet	"
Clap 9 times; out at side, fluttering	Jumping	Silent
Hanging loosely in front	Quiet	Singing
Hanging beside thighs	Jumping	"
Clap 7 times; out at side, fluttering	"	Silent
Hanging loosely in front	Quiet	Singing
Hanging beside thighs	Jumping	"

(The scythe and tub were brought.)

She whetted the scythe, as before; set it on end, handle down; stirred the ashes with it; took up pinches of them, put them to her ear and in her belt.	Squatting	Silent
She tried to set the egg up on end, but failed	"	Singing
She threw the scythe 3 times	<i>Mu la</i> back on bench	Speaking
Resting on bench	Jumping	"
Clap 7 times; out at side, fluttering	"	Silent
Clasped	Quiet	Singing

(Ashes were put in the water in the tub. It was taken away.)

Clap 7 times; out at side, fluttering	Jumping	Silent
Clasped	"	Singing
Hanging beside thighs	"	Singing a long time
Clap once	"	Calling "Mu la"
Hanging beside thighs	"	Whistle

(The egg was taken away.)

She set her hand to swinging as if holding a bowl. In some confusion someone noticed the omission and supplied one hurriedly from those on the tray.	Singing, calling "Mu la"
She set the bowl upside down on the ground.	

I had arrived after the ceremony began. On the hearth before her was a partly burned bamboo frame. In the pit, at one side, stood a lighted incense stick. On the tray at one side of the room were a *sheng* of rice with incense sticks and a woman's earring in it, several bowls with some dark liquid in them from a cooked leaf, and spirit money, some burned. Before the house were buffalo horns set on rushes. A spray of thorn tied with long rushes lay on the stone steps before the west end of the house on the south side of the threshing floor (*A* on fig. 12). I saw the mother of the sick child take a bunch of lighted straw and a spray of cassia leaves to a point just beyond the path leading out of the village to the west (*B* on fig. 12). She let the straw burn and stuck the spray in the ground. It was then that I heard the song for the first time.

(c) For Cheng-hsiang, who had been taken by soldiers and was then near Ch'angsha, Hunan, until money should be sent to him for traveling expenses. Shamaness, the oldest of the three.

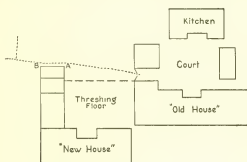


FIG. 12. Plan of "new" and "old" houses, showing the location of the spray of thorn on the threshing floor (*A*) and the point to which the mother took the spray of cassia (*B*).

She had already begun to sing when I was called in from helping with the sunning of grain. Cheng-hsiang's wife was making a frame of bamboo sticks. On the tray at the side of the room were the *sheng* measures of rice with lighted incense sticks in it, six dishes of a stewed green vegetable, a small pile of unhulled glutinous rice, a bunch of spirit money, and a few incense sticks. In the measure were also several dollar bills, later given to the shamaness. Her whole performance was less stiff, much more natural and easy than that of the younger women. She may not have been able to see through the cloth over her face, but she could certainly see below it. In some of the things she did there seemed to be conscious looking to see what she was doing. Sometimes, also, someone would ask her what to do, and she would give directions before going on with her song or actions.

Soon after I arrived she directed someone to burn spirit money on the floor near the tray, where some had been burned before. A little later she suddenly plunged forward. The iron ring on a tripod which supported the cooking pot and which had been sitting in the fire-pit was taken away. She then took some of the ashes from the pit in her left hand and held them with the right hand folded over the left, as she continued to squat by the hearth. The cupped hands she put to her ears, as others had held the pinches of ashes in their fingers. Then she tucked the ashes into the back of her belt.

She spoke a great deal, mostly in Chinese, but sometimes in Miao. A number of times she called out "P'ei ch'ao," which I was told was a call to the spirit or god of that name to come. I heard another woman make a similar call, which sounded more like "T'ei ch'ao," and again "P'an," while a third called "Mu la."

Her song was complete, but it did not have as prominent a place as in other cases, just came in at intervals, as it were. She also did much less jumping of the feet, sometimes just moved them a little nervously. When she let the hands flutter from the wrist the arms were not held rigidly at the side, but back of the bench on which she sat. Then they were lowered a little and gradually lost their motion before being brought forward. Most of the time she held her hands clasped together

quietly in her lap, or before her waist. She had a graceful motion of lifting the hand before the face and turning the palm upward, or with the thumb slightly raised.

A duck was brought and its wings and feet tied so that it could move but not get away. It was laid on the hearth to one side. The woman who did this then made some double-ended wooden daggers and some bamboo lots, while another made the white paper pennants stuck into cleft sticks. An axe was brought and put into her right hand. She struck it down into the ashes and moved them about, then set it so that the butt was down. She stroked it toward the sharp edge and took up ashes as before. This pinch of ashes was put into a long blue cloth such as is worn as part of the turban. Both she and the person who brought the cloth examined the ashes before they were folded into the cloth and it was taken away.

While she was using the axe a bench was set before the house on the steps at the front door, at the right side as one leaves the house. On it were set the *sheng* measure of rice with four lighted incense sticks, five double-ended wooden daggers, and six of the white paper pennants in it. There were three bowls of wine on one side and two on the other. A long branch of bamboo was set up on the ground and something shaken from it into one of the blue cloths. Before this was finished and the things had been taken away, the shamaness had been given the duck, which she held up by its neck, first loosening the wings and then the feet until the wings fluttered wildly. She squatted by the fire as she did this, then sat back on the bench, holding the duck by its wings. Those who had been at the door returned.

She chanted as I have heard priests chant before they cast lots, something I heard no other shamaness do, and cast the pieces of bamboo four times. They landed three times with both curved sides up and once with split sides up. She took up ashes and put them into a cloth, which Cheng-hsiang's mother took from her turban for the purpose. The axe was laid on the hearth before her. First one duck's egg and then a second she set up on end on the butt end of the axe head, then took it up into her hand, set it upright on the fingers,

and allowed it to roll back into the palm, after which she tied it into the cloth. This she tied over her shoulder with the eggs and ashes on her back. She threw the axe as the others had thrown the scythe. A basin of water was brought so that she might wash her hands.

A piece of dried meat was brought and laid on the hearth before her. The frame was set over this and a roof made of four pieces of spirit money. One of Cheng-hsiang's father's shoes was brought, and set beside it. The piece of meat was put into the shoe. She took up the axe and struck the frame and money into the ashes. A child had playfully tried to make a frame, also. Fire was kindled so that all of these might be thoroughly burned up—except the shoe and meat.

She set the hatchet, sharp side down, into the firepit and set the egg on end on the butt end. She put it in her hand as before and then tied it into the cloth. This egg was then under her left arm. Later she took the cloth off and gave it to its owner. Incense and spirit money were burned at the door. She set four chopsticks together so that they stood erect in a bowl of wine. She struck the axe into the firepit so that the chopsticks fell. These were taken away. (When she did this trick and the one of rolling eggs back into her palm, she smiled as if she knew she was doing something smart.) She took up ashes as before and tied them into a cloth, which someone took away after they had examined the ashes in it. She threw the axe several times again, calling "P'ei ch'ao." She began to swing her right hand as if she had a bowl in it. One of the bowls from the tray was set on the back of her hand. She swung it back and forth, then turned it upside down on the floor.

One of her special combinations was a sort of hissing, a single clap of the hands, putting them back of the bench and fluttering them

from the wrist, clapping them before her, then raising the left hand before her face. Once she bent over double as she held her hands behind her and fluttered them. When she put her hand down on the floor before her the thumb touched the floor, the first three fingers were held in a row and the little one back. Sometimes she put her hand before her face in this formation. There was much sighing as if she were exhausted, some coughing. Sometimes she put her hand up under the cloth as if to hold it away from her face. Her song was in Miao. After the feast she continued to sit by the fire and visit with Cheng-hsiang's mother and me for the remainder of the afternoon.

Divination. Divination by means of bamboo lots was a part of such rituals as those performed by priests at childbirth and "the opening of the way," and by one of the shamans in case of illness. On one occasion a woman relative of the deceased who remained in the village after a funeral was guest at a meal in another home, to which I was also invited. After this meal Mrs. Liu, the only Chinese woman in our village, brought a bowl of rice grains and asked a question. The visitor put a cloth over the bowl so as to press down the grains firmly, then removed it and answered the question from the form the grain took in the bowl. This is comparable to a similar practice among the Ch'uan (River) Miao in Szechuan, which Dr. David Crockett Graham describes as follows:

When the divining is done by rice, use one bowl of rice and take a cloth and cover it well. The master of the house or a sick person blows his breath three times on the rice and the *tuan kung* 端公 rubs the surface of the rice with his hand. Then when he has finished speaking, he takes the cloth off and examines the rice to see if the grains are perpendicular or horizontal and thus determines the good or ill luck of the family.¹²

¹² Graham, 1937, p. 90.

rites of intensification¹

CALENDAR OF FESTIVALS

The Lunar New Year. Preparations for the period of leisure and festivity of which the lunar New Year was the central point began soon after the rice harvest. Glutinous rice cakes, some stuffed with beans, some made of the black rice, some colored red, but almost all white, rice wine, bean curd, pork in various forms, and sometimes beef had to be made ready not only for the feasts of the first month, but also for weddings, bullfights, and all occasions known as "invitations to drink wine." Of the weddings I saw or knew about all took place between the sixth of the tenth month and the eighteenth of the second month. Bullfights took place on the second day of the second month and in the eighth and ninth months.

They had to bring in a large supply of fuel, also, not only for the first fifteen days of the first month, at least, when as little work was done as possible, but also for the large amount of cooking involved in the making of these special foods. As many had new clothes as could afford them. This called for the dyeing of pieces of white cloth to a very dark blue, the cutting and making of garments, the embroidering of aprons and overpieces, the weaving of belts, and the making of pads for the babies. Clothing and bedding were washed wholesale so that no one need think of that for two or three weeks after the New Year. The whole village was put in order.

For the glutinous rice cakes the hulled rice was boiled to a stiff paste, which was then put into a large stone mortar and pounded with large, wooden mallets on long handles until it was of the right consistency to shape. If beans were to be put inside, they were boiled with herbs or ginger and salt to season them and the paste wrapped around them. Some liked a thin shell of paste, some a thicker one. For the pounding of the paste two strong men were needed; women did the rest. Freshly made cakes could be eaten as they were, for

the cooking and pounding heated them and they had not yet become stiff and hard. At this stage they were also good cut in pieces and fried in plenty of fat, then dipped in brown sugar syrup or a mixture of sesame seed, sugar, and salt. Later they were usually toasted over the fire or in the hot ashes. Lest the air dry them out too much they were kept in large jars full of water. When they formed the chief lunch dish, a boiled green vegetable mixed with much red chillie was eaten with the plain one. Those of black glutinous rice were greatly prized because not much of this grain was raised and it was sweeter than the white. Red ones were liked because red is the color of joy.

One morning I went into the kitchen and found the old man's first wife and the second nephew's wife distilling rice wine. A wooden cask with no top or bottom had been set, large end down, in one of the large kettles over the kitchen fire. It was evidently the old lady's task to keep just the right fire going under it. Sawdust was packed around the lower end to seal it. Rice and water had been put into the cask. On top was a smaller bowl with a cloth laid around it to seal the seam. From a hole in one side of the cask ran a length of bamboo into the spout of an earthen jar. This tube was securely wound with cloth to seal possible holes. On top of the jar was a cloth with a weighted rice bowl in it. This equipment was owned by this household and borrowed by others when there was occasion to make a large supply. New wine was sweet and had some rice in it. Later it became sour or strong of alcohol.

Bean curd was made as follows: The soy beans and water were dipped with a small wooden dipper from a bowl to the hole in the upper of two millstones set on a wooden frame at a convenient height. From between the stones the thick, white liquid ran by a trough to a wooden bucket. I did not see

¹ See Chapple and Coon, 1942, p. 706.

anything added to cause it to curdle. The mill was turned in one of two ways: Either a wooden handle stuck up beside the upper millstone so that one operator had to lean over to turn it, or a curved beam rose from the rod in the side of this stone and had a handle at right angles to it, supported by a rope from the beam above. One or two persons pushed and pulled this around. I helped when they were making bean curd at the time of the second old lady's funeral. A hot fire of straw and grass was kept burning beneath one of the large bowls. Into it the operator of the mill poured the contents of the buckets of bean milk until it was full. When the milk had boiled up it was poured into a wicker tray or scoop with a cloth in it, set over a wooden cask. When the whey had gone through, hastened by some pressure on the cloth, the cloth was laid on a flat board and the curd cut into squares.

The killing of the New Year pig was the occasion of an offering to the household gods and a feast in which all the dishes contained pork. In our family it was killed a week before New Year's Day. The old man's brother from Yang-niu-ts'un and his son, who went to school in Lung-li, the old man from House 33, and his sons helped. When I arrived a small table was set on the steps before the door. In the center of it was a *sheng* measure of rice with lighted incense sticks set in it, and at each corner a rice bowl containing (1) wine, (2) bean curd, (3) chillies, and (4) salt. To one corner of the table were fastened two long bamboo poles, both of which had some strips of white paper and leaves at the top. One was split finely to make a holder in which a bowl was set. The pig killed was a large one, worth well over a thousand Chinese dollars. The blood had been allowed to drip into a tub, after which the carcass had been put on a wooden frame, and the bristles scraped off. The entrails had been taken out and were being washed. The animal had been cut squarely in two from snout to tail. The two parts of the pig were taken into the hall and set on boards on the floor. They were then weighed and the women took pieces to make the dishes of the feast. The one I attended was of the following dishes: pig's blood broth, carrots and pork, celery and pork, and a soup

of fat and lean pork, with a seasoning of chillies. All but the old man drank wine. I was invited to eat with the men and boys. The other women ate in the hall. After the feast the pig was cut up and the relatives went home with a big piece of it and two bunches of carrots. They gave me a piece of lean and a piece of fat.

The next day there was mist everywhere and it became colder and colder until there was ice all over the mountains, bending the bamboo down to the ground. It was thick enough on rice fields so that the children cut slabs of it and carried them about. There was also some snow. This weather pleased the people very much. They said it meant that the crops would be good this year. Mo-mei spent most of these days making a new long garment for her oldest cousin as she sat by my fire. Some of the other girls were there one day, and on another, one of the women from House 11 came.

The oldest nephew, Cheng-hsüan, and the son Cheng-hsiang spent most of the last day of the twelfth month writing appropriate New Year inscriptions in black on red or orange, and in white on blue paper. They got these formulae from a book of them. These strips of paper were pasted on the door frames and window frames, top and both sides. Red or orange indicated that the family was not in mourning, blue or white that it was. Those on blue paper Cheng-hsüan sent to his old home in Yang-niu-ts'un, as his mother had died during the year. (Cause of death: heart disease with edema.) That evening a feast was held in the big house at which the dishes were of pork — several of them — "long life noodles," bean curd, and a kind of spoon bread with egg in it. There were piles and piles of glutinous rice cakes laid out in the hall, and two young men were pounding more of the paste in a mortar. Some of the cakes had beans in them. I had given the family a large roll of firecrackers, half of which they set off at this time. The small boys scrambled for the paper cases. Incense sticks were set in at one side of the door sills of both the "new" and the "old" houses and the gate into the court.

The next morning they set off the rest of the roll of firecrackers and all had a special

breakfast much like the feast of the night before, but there was no soup. First pieces of pork were cooked in the bowl over the fire, then other things in turn. I sat until noon with the old man and his second wife and found them very ready to answer questions about family history. The conversation led into that channel in an interesting way. The old man had been reading about Roosevelt in the newspaper and asked me questions, being most desirous of knowing whether there were many people named Lo in the United States. (The Chinese call Roosevelt "Lo Ssu-fu" and he thought Ssu-fu was his given name and Lo his surname.) I explained, and said that Roosevelt was a Dutch name, that Roosevelt's ancestors had come from Holland to the United States. That led the old man to tell me of the migration of the ancestor of the Cowrie Shell Miao from Kiangsi which I have mentioned earlier.²

In the afternoon I found twelve of the village girls sitting around a fire at their usual place, but they had no visitors as yet. During the day children went around from house to house making bows from the waist or kneeling and knocking the head to the ground. They were given sunflower seeds and parched beans and peas. That evening the family had another feast similar to the others.

From this time on the men sat about the fires in the houses, the women about several fires at certain points in the village and just inside the wood. The same women usually composed each group, but now and then one would visit a group not her own. The girls now sat about two fires and their "chaperones" about the third, while Cowrie Shell Miao boys from other villages came each day. There was much playing on bamboo flutes which seemed to call for a certain tune. They sang such songs as the farewell to the bride a great deal and made up more words for it. One of the young men wrote out for me the song I have compared with the one from An-lung and called it a song sung along the road. The girls were all working on the embroidered overpiece. One day they put a turban on me which seemed to be half unmarried girls'

style and half married women's style, as it included the chopstick, and an overpiece, and taught me how to swing shoulders and hips to make the shells click. One of the visiting boys brought his *lu sheng* one day. Four of the girls danced and also one of the village men, who had his gun with him.

During this fifteen day period Mo-mei, her best friend among the girls, and the first nephew's oldest son went to visit relatives in Yang-niu-ts'un. They carried a bag of rice and some meat as a gift. The same day four other girls, with a boy to carry a jar of wine and a piece of smoked meat, also went visiting. They all stayed four days. Cheng-hsüan visited at his old home from New Year's Day until the twelfth of the first month. On the fifteenth another feast was held, to which I was not invited, for it was for members of the family only. The married daughter returned for this, bringing her little girl with her. At this time incense sticks were also set at the doors. They sent me a dish of chicken from the feast.

The girls continued to sit by their fires after the fifteenth, but the women did not come to the third fire, and there were no visitors. At all fires they ate glutinous rice cakes toasted in the ashes at noon. The only break in the period of relaxation came on the ninth of the first month, when every one in the vicinity went for faggots on the mountains. Those from near the village to Lung-li had been burned over—a beautiful sight—and the people were anxious to get the partly charred wood. It burned well, but was very dirty to handle.

San Yüeh San.³ The first time I was in the village, at this season the men of the village built three fires at the shrine on the south, killed a chicken, used eggs to divine the fortune of the year, burned incense, and spirit money before the shrine, and set off three gunpowder charges. Incense sticks were also placed beside a little pine tree beyond the path, looking toward the meadow. Some of the chicken feathers and inscriptions on red paper were pasted on the shrine. At the other two shrines spirit money and incense

² See p. 8.

³ The third day of the third month according to the lunar calendar—a Chinese festival.

were burned, gunpowder charges were set off, and feathers and inscriptions stuck on the front of the shrine.

The second time a rooster was killed on a stone in the open space near House 7, and three fires were built there, upon which the men of the village prepared a feast for themselves. The children, who are always welcome, whether invited or not, also came. Over one fire the chicken was cooked, over a second the broth of fresh bean curd, and over the third a broth of pork. At the shrines they burned incense and spirit money, set off fire-crackers, and stuck on chicken feathers and inscriptions. This time I found a straw image of a man about eight inches long, with white paper about the trunk and upper arms, and a chicken feather stuck in the paper lying along the right arm. It was lying at the entrance to the village on the east with the legs toward the village.

Ch'ing Ming.⁴ This is the Chinese festival at which ancestral graves are repaired and decorated with a bamboo pole which has leaves and white paper streamers at the top. It is stuck into the peak of the grave mound. Offerings are made and the family have a picnic at the graves. This festival comes almost exactly at the time of our Easter.

The people of this village celebrated for two or three days, according, as they told me, to the few or many deaths during the preceding year. I was there for one of these festivals. The first day the people of Shang-sai killed a pig and prepared the feast, but all contributed toward it or bought a share of the meat, and all the village except the Chinese family partook of it. The feast was held in the sheltered place at which the girls built their fires at New Year's time. The chief grave was decorated, charges of gunpowder were set off in groups of three, and an offering was made to these graves before the people ate. With the exception of a few women who sat together at the entrance to the wood, all ate together at this one place. The women

put on good clothing for this, even the tiny girls being dressed in tribal costume. The second day Hsia-sai killed the pig and prepared the feast, which was eaten in the village. The next year I was away. Upon my return they told me that they had celebrated for three days and that one of the feasts was eaten on the threshing floor in front of the "new house," whose kitchen had been used for the cooking.

Our family also had a private Ch'ing Ming at their group of tombs. All the men and boys of the family and some from families who lived near by went to this place, which is to the west of the village and on a piece of high ground. They spent nearly all afternoon there repairing one of the grave mounds by cleaning up around it and putting new pieces of sod on it. Some prayers were chanted, a chicken was killed, and gunpowder charges were set off, first three, then two, then one. The powder was carried in the horn of a bull, not water buffalo. That evening they had a feast in their home to which they invited the members of those other families and me. The old man, his son, his grandson, the oldest daughter, and the nephews sat around one fire, four men from the other families and one woman, the two wives of the old man and his younger daughter, the oldest sons of the two nephews, and I around another, and the rest of the family around a third. We had dishes of noodles and chicken, beef and a vegetable, chicken and pork, and bean curd soup.

Hsiao Mang.⁵ This was not observed particularly by the Chinese in Lung-li. The villagers held a feast, for which they made bean curd and colored glutinous rice—yellow, orange, blue, green, red, and purple. This, mixed with the black variety, they ate for some time after the festival, too. Finally what was left was sunned and parched. It was as good as popcorn.

Tuan Yang.⁶ In the village they had a feast. In Lung-li the Chinese also prepared special food.

⁴A solar period at which the Chinese worship at graves—roughly corresponds to our Easter time, April 5-17.

⁵Ripening grain, one of the twenty-four Chinese festivals. It usually occurs during the fourth month

according to the lunar calendar. (A solar period from May 21-June 4.)

⁶The day of the Dragon Boat festival, the fifth day of the fifth month according to the lunar calendar.

Lung Hui.⁷ For this the people of the village made the same three-cornered glutinous rice cakes as for the fifth of the fifth month festival. Dragons mean rain or water. The festival was well named, for there was almost a solid week of rain directly afterward. It was ideal rice weather, but brought out the insects, too, of which the most annoying were mosquitoes, fleas, and a tiny, stinging, black thing like a gnat.

I did not see the feasts of the seventh month in the village.

Bullfights (fig. 17). The first fight I saw was held on the first three days of the second month of the lunar calendar on a field near the village of Yang-niu-ts'un in Kuei-ting Hsien. We arrived a little after noon, a bit too late for the ceremony known as *ta ch'ang*.⁸ The spectators, nearly all young men and women, stood on two hillsides which made natural places for spectators, overlooking the level space between. The water buffalo bulls and their keepers were also standing on these slopes. Before each fight an old man beat a gong from one hillside and was answered by two in the hands of a young man and a boy on the other. The bulls were led onto the field by their owners and around it until two were chosen as seeming about evenly matched. These two were led to face each other and released. Sometimes they clashed horns at once. Sometimes they seemed to size one another up first. The fighting consisted of clashing horns, which made a loud noise, goring on head, neck, and shoulders, pushing head on or with the head and shoulders of one bull against those of the other, and finally one bull chasing the other from the field. As the bulls fought young men with long staves in their hands formed a circle around them (fig. 17, f). Sometimes the bulls moved around so much and so vigorously that the young men standing near had to scatter. Once they stampeded into the spectators on a lower slope, but no one was hurt at any time. Two bulls were so evenly matched that they were separated after about twenty minutes and led away, evidently very tired. Once two bulls started a very good fight on their own. While

the fights were going on a large group of men brought their caged thrushes together in one place to hear them sing against one another.

For this occasion both young men and young women wore very good clothing, new if possible. There were not many married women present. Two girls wore a silver ornament on the back of the overpiece (fig. 17, c), consisting of silver chains of beads to one silver cowrie shell, then to three, and then to five silver bells of various shapes. These made a fine tinkling as they walked. Two girls were dressed in the layers of colored blouses with embroidered pieces on the upper sleeves and silver disks covering the whole overpiece, trousers, and aprons, but not the pleated skirt. Several wore the fancy scarf on the turban. Two young men played the *lu sheng* at intervals during the afternoon.

The fights lasted from about ten o'clock in the morning to late afternoon, when the guests went to the nearby villages. For much of the night the girls and young men played the *lu sheng*, talked and sang. The next day they went home, but the fights were held for three successive afternoons. I was invited to spend two weeks in Yang-niu-ts'un with relatives of those from Yang-chia-sai.

Another was held on this same field early in the eighth month of the lunar calendar. On the tenth, one was held at Hsin-ch'ang, a market town a little over a mile from Yang-niu-ts'un. It took place in a level space just outside the village, with the road leading into the village crossing it well to one side. There were two slopes here, also. Only a few people stood on the west one, though they were joined by others as the sun came lower. It was a very hot day. Each group of villagers had flags of white with a design which faintly resembled a dragon on them, and staves topped with a rosette of white chicken feathers and other rosettes of colored paper at intervals along them.

We were early enough this time for the ceremony of *ta ch'ang*. This was a procession consisting of groups of men, including one or two in the orange or yellow robes of the

⁷ "Meeting of the dragons," the sixth day of the sixth month according to the lunar calendar.

⁸ The opening ceremony.

priest. One priest led the bull, one man had a gong, one a long stick upon which was festooned a long, lighted string of firecrackers, two trumpets, and several villagers the banners and staves. Most of the bulls were covered with bright cloths of various colors or with red ribbons. The procession followed the foot of the hill upon which we stood, went around a clump of trees well beyond it, along the foot of the opposite hill, around the whole village and back to the field, where the bulls were divested of their finery and the banners and staves were set up in their former places. The "field" was thus defined as a plowed part which had been somewhat leveled off, one sodded and more level, some land on either side of the stone road leading into the village, and the village itself. As the procession moved nine gunpowder charges were set off twice at each end of the plowed section.

At this fight there was no gong when a fight was to be held, but a group of men with bamboo staves in their hands went to invite two bulls at either end of the field to be led on. It was so hot that only one really good fight took place. Most of the bulls just looked at one another as if to say, "Well, what do you think of that thing!" and then looked away. Sometimes one at once turned and ran.

It was market day at Hsin-ch'ang and those who attended the market also watched the fight. For the occasion even the little girls wore their best. This included the embroidered scarf on the turban showing the design on the edge, silver on the overpiece up to a maximum, which was the whole front and shoulder pieces covered with silver disks, large and small, four-petalled flowers of cowrie shells in the back with rows of shells suspended from them in two tiers, and a silver ornament consisting of chains, shells, and bells. It must have represented a goodly sum of money, as it could be bought only with real silver in the lump or Chinese silver dollars. Dr. Wu, in his account of the fight and sacrifice held each twelfth year, the initial one of a cycle, or "the year of the rat," speaks of a bullfight as a harvest festival coming after the harvest, when the period of relaxation begins, but this particular fight came right in the midst of harvest when the villagers were at their busiest.

Two other fights I saw were held on the tenth of the ninth month of one year and the nineteenth of the ninth month the next year, at the meadow just outside Yang-chia-sai. Just before the first one we had been having bad weather for some time and, while it did not rain that day, it was still gray, misty in the valleys, and wet under foot. There was also a cold northeast wind. Therefore, fewer came than would have been the case had the weather been fine and the roads dry. The crowd seemed to be composed mostly of Chung-chia and Chinese from neighboring villages, with only a few visiting Cowrie Shell Miao. The audience filled the rise of ground with grave mounds on it to the east of the field. Sellers of noodles, nuts, candy, and wine occupied a piece of ground nearby.

Before the fights began a table was set up in the middle of the field and the usual objects of worship set upon it: a measure of rice with candles and incense sticks set in it, bowls of wine, and so on. The priests, of whom there were five, bowed to the ground before it before the *ta ch'ang* procession took place. After the procession it was removed and a cluster of lighted incense sticks was stuck in the ground at that place until they burned down. The procession consisted of five boys bearing large red banners on bamboo poles, a group of musicians, the five priests in orange silk robes, of whom the first carried a horn of wine which he spilled as he walked. The others carried umbrellas. After them came men with firecrackers and gongs and the gayly decked bulls, each led by one man. Some bulls without trappings did not go in the procession. This one followed the road to the south, around the group of Chinese houses and the temple, coming back to the highway along the wood, thence to the Tu Ti Miao, and onto the field, where they disbanded. The larger element of worship may have been due to the presence of important ancestral graves near by. However, this may have taken place at the Hsin-ch'ang field. I could not see what took place about a table there.

There were about a dozen bulls at the Yang-chia-sai fight and the fights were about as usual—some acted bored, one or two ran right off the field, two stampeded toward the

sellers of food, and there were one or two really good fights. The banners were washed next day, and kept by our family.

The day of the fight held at the same place on the nineteenth of the ninth month of the following year was a bitterly cold one. So few bulls were brought that there was no procession. There was a larger group of Cowrie Shell Miao there than on the former occasion, however, because a young man in the village had just been married and the large group of wedding guests from other villages was still there. Several of the village girls put on their best clothes. There was one stam-

pede into the sellers of sweetmeats which created much excitement and amusement, but no harm was done. Two bulls fought extremely well. Even after one bull had run off the field the other pursued him and continued the fight in a rice field until one of them had had enough and ran again. After the fights a feast was held at the home of the bridegroom, to which they invited me. The bride and her attendants and the bridegroom had already gone back to her village. Some of the guests sat at tables outside, but there was a group of men in one house and a group of the principal women guests in the other. I was asked to eat with them.

Bullfighting Among the Cowrie Shell Miao *

DR. WU TZU-LIN ¹⁰

Bullfighting among the Cowrie Shell Miao is a part of ancestral worship. Originally it was an act in the great sacrifice when they killed a bull to pay reverence to their ancestors, doubtless so that the ancestors might see that only the value of a bull was sufficient to express their respect for so important a divinity. In the economy of an agricultural village, to kill a bull every year is an impossibility because of poverty, so that among the Cowrie Shell Miao each *tsu* year the wealthy do it once, and it is called *ta*. Between two such sacrifices there must be an interval of eleven full years, but in these eleven years they must do much in the way of preparation. First, the selection of the bull is an especially important thing. Bulls which clash horns must be male water buffalo, and their physique and the form of their horns are all extremely important. Besides, they pay special attention to the feeding of the bull. The daily work of the bull is comparatively light, the food, however, comparatively rich. Until almost the time of the duel what they eat is special, so that the bulls selected to fight are reared to be large, fat, and, of course, quite unlike those used for plowing.

Bullfights are all conducted in the ninth or tenth month of the Chinese calendar. On the one hand, of course, it is a token of remembrance of the ancestors; on the other, it is a kind of ritual pastime at a comparatively short interval after harvest. Having worked all year, in their big meeting on this day they forget all their troubles. So, although the formal sacrifice of killing a bull must come at intervals of eleven years, really the two or three pre-

ceding the sacrifice are all a preliminary to the fight. Thus, in ordinary years, while the bullfight is little like *the* fight, yet sometimes it has a period of preliminary offering. The elders of the villages used to make their decision and, about Ch'ing Ming, send a notice inscribed on a tablet of wood to villages within a radius of ten li to make their selection. In recent years instead of wood they use the red scroll and write on it, "Having fixed such and such a day of such and such a month, we hope each relative or friend who has a bull will come and bring it. So and so respectfully gives notice."

The arena for the fight is a piece of level land near a village or a rice field trampled smooth after water has been put upon it. Before the fight, at about nine in the morning, all the families lead the bulls to the field and, after they have assembled begin a *fu ch'ang* ritual. Each family makes the bull go around the boundary of the arena, with the body of the bull covered with red cloth and red silk given by relatives and friends. Wealthy people also put on the tips of the horns a sheath of silver three to four inches long. The priest puts on a yellow robe and, carrying in his hands a bull's horn full of rice wine, follows the bull, from time to time pouring wine on the path. A man following strikes a gong and another sets off firecrackers to add dignity. This is the first act of the fight.

From noon to three in the afternoon is the actual time of bullfighting. At the field the elders of the villages take charge. They also appoint a man as master of ceremonies, who roughly selects bulls of

*From an article in a local newspaper in Kweichow, 1940.

¹⁰ See p. 10.

equal body and horn points and matches them as fighting partners. They are led out to fight. If their strength is very different, then four or five minutes is enough to decide which is the victorious and which the defeated bull. If they match those of equal strength, there must usually pass about twenty minutes of effort before one can decide which is the victor. Sometimes the victorious bull forces the defeated one to run vigorously. When there is danger of the defeated one being killed the bystanders run onto the field and separate them with wooden staves and bamboo poles, so that the defeated one can escape easily. Bulls that fight well usually strike their opponent's horns fiercely with their own so that the defeated one is injured and bleeds and falls to the ground. One pair having finished, the second pair come out on the field, until the number is complete, and then they stop.

As for the guests, they all stand around the arena at a distance and look on, not daring to come near lest, when the defeated bull runs madly they may be trampled by him. But sometimes people are knocked down by bulls and thus injured. This is the second act of the fight.

After the bullfights are over, the owners of the bulls clamor for the sorcerer to name a day to prepare the sacrifice. Several families in a village can conduct it at the same time. The day before the sacrifice they must set up the stone for killing the bull, which, in addition to the part which is in the ground, is at its greatest height three feet, and about ten inches wide. At a point about seven or eight inches above the ground they chisel a round hole, about half an inch in diameter, and in the front of the stone are engraved the words given below: "Son (or grandson) So and So for the sacrifice at the autumn assembly has carefully prepared to make a fine offering to you (god or ancestor), the deceased father So and So. Set up in such and such a year, such and such a month, on such and such a day."

The ritual of killing the bull is conducted from ten to eleven in the morning. Before killing the bull they ask the priest to offer prayers. The offering is set before the stone—first two cups of tea, then one cup of wine, one bowl of rice, several bowls of other dishes, a measure [*sheng*] of rice, into which they stick lighted incense. Besides this there is also a red paper parcel with a silver dollar or two wrapped in it, to be his fee, with a pile of burning spirit money beside it. At the time of the sacrifice the priest puts on a thin yellow silk robe, one man holds an umbrella, one man beats a gong, two men blow trumpets, two men beat drums, and when the bull is brought they set off nine gunpowder charges. As for the method of killing the bull: They lead it to in front of the stone and make it kneel down on

the ground, using a coarse rope to pull the bull's horns to another piece tied in the round hole in the stone and fastened behind with a transverse rod, then turned upward to fix the bull's head and horns on the stone. When it cannot be moved they tighten it behind the stone with the horizontal stick. After preparing the sacrifice, they invite the maternal uncle and son-in-law to act (if there are none, then other relatives on the wife's side will do). The maternal uncle holds in his hand a piece of iron about five inches long, which he lays on the neck of the bull. The son-in-law holds in his hand a thick, twisted wooden staff about three feet long, which he strikes vigorously against the piece of iron several times. The bull then loses consciousness and the bystanders stab the bull with a sharp knife and let it bleed. They then cut up the hide and flesh and divide it among friends and relatives. The maternal uncle's share is one of the hind legs, the son-in-law's is the neck. This is their reward for killing the bull. As for the remaining relatives, since all must bring a gift of from a few *mao* to two or three dollars, not all the same, so each family is to have a share of two or three *chin*.

The rest of the beef is roasted. To go with it they make all kinds of dishes containing beef. In the afternoon about one o'clock they set out the feast in the great hall. Boards and benches are put together to make a long table and the guests arrange themselves for a long feast. On the table they set all sorts of dishes having beef as a foundation. Of unfermented wine they drink from large bowls. If other families conduct the ritual at the same time, the guests who have come to the killing of the bull, after eating for a time at one place go on to other places. On that day only men are guests; women do not attend the feast. In many tribal societies, although all have meetings of a religious nature or rituals, women never take any part. Among the Cowrie Shell Miao women do not attend the feast of killing the bull, which is a very good example.

Economically, killing a bull is very wasteful, so poor people do not have the ability to do it. Families who have much wealth so that they can do it always consider this a day for paying debts and also as doing something for which they will receive a monetary reward later. Killing a bull is at the same time a form of communal pastime. On the day of killing the bull men and women, old and young, put on their best clothes. The silver ornaments on the clothing of the women, bracelets, rings, necklaces, and so on, are splendid for the occasion, quite beautiful. There are many people and it is a lively occasion, better than a market. The yearly burden of getting a living and depression of spirit are for that day lessened, for the joyfulness of the occasion springs up in the heart. It must thus be also of no little aid to good health.

After the sacrifice the horns of the bull must be preserved. In the homes of the wealthy they always have ten or more pair put away. After an old person in the family dies all the families who have them must put a pair of horns on a millstone and set it before the door to bring about the dispelling of ill

luck until after burial, when it is put away. After the sacrifice, on the place where it took place they must erect a staff twelve to thirteen feet high with a flag three or four feet from the top and a crescent of wood like the horns of a bull fastened to it. This sign then can be observed from a great distance.

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FIGURES 13-20





a



b



c



d



e



f

a, House under construction; *b*, Granary — small child by door, stone foundation used as threshing floor with spread mats. *c*, Village house, showing rolled mat on threshing floor and bundles of faggots lying against the house. *d*, Women sitting on the edge of the foundation, granary and plow in the background. *e*, Front of "new house," showing sheaves of rice, clothes drying, sedan chair, mats with grain drying on threshing floor. *f*, House in Yang-niu-ts'un, showing sedan chair and balconies — not a typical house.



a



b



c



d

a, Stone road which leads to the pass at the highest point between the motor road and the village, showing women carrying grass. *b*, Approach to village, showing the stone road. *c*, View of the valley from the hills in the east, showing the setting of the village and the terraced rice fields. *d*, The stone road in the valley.



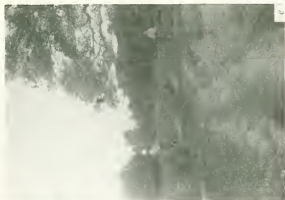
b



d



a



e



c

a, Family and friends setting out the rice plants. b, Man plowing, wife spreading night soil. c, Women setting out rice plants. d, Girls bundling plants in the field. e, Women bringing up water with bucket from the pond.

*a**b**c**d**e**f*

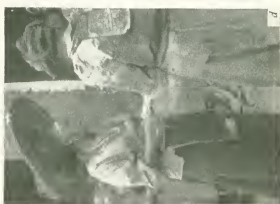
a, Man on the dike casting rice into the flooded seed beds. *b*, Woman hulling rice, showing rice-hulling machine. *c*, Woman cleaning rice (background), person behind pouring rice from basket into hopper, and in foreground a person pouring rice on a mat. *d*, Woman flailing grain on a threshing floor. *e*, People going through the village bearing rice plants from the seed beds to permanent fields. *f*, Preparing paddy for market by filling baskets and bags, showing grain-cleaning machine, baskets, and mats.

*a**b**d**c**e**f*

a, Two women of the village following the path across the buffalo bullfighting meadow. *b*, Men on the bullfighting field, procession in the background. *c*, Back view of girls viewing bullfight, showing silver ornaments, embroidery band, and turbans. *d*, Bulls actually fighting. *e*, Group of men at bullfight with caged thrushes. *f*, Bulls fighting and spectators, showing group of men with staves.



a, The *lu-sheng*. b, The *lu-sheng*, showing men dancing as they play the instrument. c, Old woman in ragged clothing. d, Two school boys before the shrine to the local deity at the south of the village. e, Woman winding bobbins from the ball in a tub of water, one of the priests is behind her. f, "Old Black" Miao, showing embroidery like that on the old woman's body at burial (see p. 56).



a, Two jolly village girls. *b*, Girl in village. *c*, Girls wearing everyday working clothes. *d*, "Old Black" Miao girls at market. *e*, Three little cousins standing before the entrance to a house in Yang-nu-ts'un — Mo-mei in background. *f*, Four brothers of a family in Yang-nu-ts'un.



a, d, Two village girls, showing turban and clothes which are used only on occasion. *b*, Two of the "White" Miao. *c, e*, bride and her attendants, and women guests at feast at her home, showing the special turban and ceremonial dress worn only by the bride and her attendants at her wedding.





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